Mr. SMIRKE:

OR, THE

DIVINE in MODE:

BEING

Certain *Annotations*, upon the *Animadversions* on the *Naked Truth*.

Together with a Short *Historical Essay*, concerning *General Councils*, *Creeds*, and *Impositions*, in Matters of *Religion*.

Nuda, sed Magna est Veritas, & prævalebit.

BY

ANDREAS RIVETUS, *Junior*.

Anagr.

RES NUDA VERITAS.

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To the

CAPTIOUS READER.

ALL that I have to require of thee is, That whereſoever my Stile or Principles Strike out, and keep not within the ſame Bounds, that the moſt Judicious Author of *the Naked Truth* hath all along obſerved; he may not therefore be traced. He could beſt have writ a Defence proportionable to his own Subject; had he eſteemed it neeeſſary, or that it was decent for him to have enter'd the Pit with ſo Scurrilous an Animadverter. But I thought it a piece of due Civility from one of the Laities, to intereſſe my ſelf for one of the Clergy, who had ſo highly obliged the People of *England*. And I will anſwer for mine own faults, I ask thee no pardon. Nor therefore is either the Author, or any other particular Perſon, or any Party, to be accuſed, or miſ-repreſented upon my Private Account. For the reſt, neither let any particular Man, or Order, inlarge my meaning againſt themſelves, further than in Conſcience they find they are guilty. Nor let the body of Chaplains think themſelves affronted. None

more

more esteems them, nor loves their Conversation better than I do. They are the succeeding hope of our Church, the Youth of our Clergy; and the Clergy are the Reserve of our Christianity. Some of them, whom I know, have indeed, and do continue daily to put very Singular Obligations upon me; but I write to a Nobler end, than to revenge my Petty Concernments.

Adieu.

The Errata's are too many to be Corrected; But p. 7. *l.* ult. Eighth *is to be struck out.*

Mr. SMIRKE,
Or the
Divine in Mode.

IT hath been the Good Nature (and Politicians will have it the Wiſdom) of moſt Governours to entertain the people with Publick Recreations; and therefore to incourage ſuch as could beſt contribute to their Divertiſement. And hence doubtleſs it is, that our Eccleſiaſtical Governours alſo (who as they yield to none for Prudence, ſo in good Humor they exceed all others,) have not diſdained of late years to afford the Laity no inconſiderable Paſtime. Yea ſo great hath been their condeſcenſion that, rather then faile, they have carried on the Merriment by men of their own Faculty, who might otherwiſe by the gravity of their Calling, have claimed an exemption from ſuch Offices. They have Ordained from time to time ſeveral of the moſt Ingenious and Pregnant of their Clergy to ſupply the Preſs continually with new Books of ridiculous and facetious argument. Wherein divers of them have ſucceeded even to admiration: in ſo much that by the reading thereof, the ancient Sobriety and Serioufneſs of the *Engliſh* Nation hath been in ſome good meaſure diſcuſſed and worn out of faſhion. Yet, though the Clergy have hereby manifeſted that nothing comes amiſs to them, and particularly, that when they give their minds to it, no ſort of men are more proper or capable to make ſport for Spectators; it hath ſo happened by the rewards and Promotions beſtowed upon thoſe who have labour'd in this Province, that many others in hopes of the like Preferment, although otherwiſe by their Parts, their Complexion and Education unfitted for this Jocular Divinity, have in order to it wholly neglected the more weighty cares of their Function. And from hence it proceeds, that to the no ſmall ſcandal and diſreputation of our Church, a great *Arcanum* of their State hath been diſcovered and divulged: That, albeit Wit be not in-

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conſiſtent and incompatible with a Clergy-man, yet neither is it inſeparable from them. So that it is of concernment to my Lords the Biſhops henceforward to repreſs thoſe of 'em who have no Wit from Writing, and to take care that even thoſe that have, do husband it better, as not knowing to what exigency they may be reduced: But however that they the Biſhops be not too forward in Licenſing and perfixing their venerable Names to ſuch Pamphlets. For admitting, though I am not too poſitive in it, that our Epiſcopacy is of Apoſtolical Right, yet we do not find that among all thoſe gifts then given to men, that which we call Wit is enumerated: nor yet among thoſe qualifications requiſite to a Biſhop. And therefore ſhould they out of Complacency for an Author, or Delight in the Argument, or Facility of their Judgements approve of a dull Book, their own underſtandings will be anſwerable, and irreverent people, that cannot diſtinguiſh, will be ready to think that ſuch of them differ from men of Wit, not only in Degree, but in Order. For all are not of my mind, who could never ſee any one elevated to that Dignity, but I preſently conceived a greater opinion of his Wit then ever I had formerly. But ſome do not ſtick to affirm that even they, the Biſhops, come by theirs not by Inſpiration, not by Teaching, but even as the poor Laity do ſometimes light upon it, by a good Mother. Which has occaſioned the homely Scotch Proverb that, *An Ounce of Mother-Wit is worth a Pound of Clergy.* And as they come by it as do other men, ſo they poſſeſſe it on the ſame condition: That they cannot tranſmit it by breathing, touching, or any natural *Effluvium* to other perſons: not ſo much as to their moſt Domeſtick Chaplain, or to thecloſeſt Reſidentiary. That the King himſelf, who is no leſs the Spring of That, then he is the Fountain of Honour, yet has never uſed the Dubbing or Creating of Witts as a Flower of his Prerogative: much leſs can the Eccleſiaſtical Power conferre it with the ſame eaſe as they do the Holy Orders. That whatſoever they can do of that kind is, at uttermoſt, to impower men by their authority and commiſſion, no otherwiſe then in the Licenſing of Midwives or Phyſitians. But that as to their collating of any internal talent or ability, they could never pretend to it, their grants and their prohibitions are alike invalide, and they can neither capacitate one man to be Witty, nor hinder another from being ſo, further then as the Preſs is at their Devotion. Which if it be the Caſe, they cannot be too circumſpect in their management, and ſhould be very exquiſite, ſeeing this way of writing is found ſo neceſſary, in making choice of fit Inſtruments. The Churches credit is more intereſted in an Eccleſiaſtical Droll, then in a Lay Chancellor. It is no ſmall truſt that is repoſed in him to whom the

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Biſhop ſhall commit: *Omne & omnimodum ſuum Ingenium tam Temporale quam Spirituale*: And, however it goes with Excommunication, they ſhould take good heed to what manner of perſon they delegate the Keys of Laughter. It is not every man that is qualified to ſuſtain the Dignity of the Churches Jeſter: and, ſhould they take as exact a ſcrutiny of them as of the Non-conformiſts thorow their Dioceſſes, the number would appear inconſiderable upon this Eaſter Viſitation. Before men be admitted to ſo important an employment, it were fit they underwent a ſevere Examination; and that it might appear, firſt, whether they have any Senſe: for without that how can any man pretend, and yet they do, to be ingenious? Then, whether they have any Modeſty: for without that they can only be ſcurrilous and impudent. Next, whether any Truth: for true Jeſts are thoſe that do the greateſt execution. And Laſtly, it were not amiſs that they gave ſome account too of their Chriſtianity: for the world has always hitherto been ſo uncivil as to expect ſomthing of that from the Clergy; in the deſign and ſtile even of their lighteſt and moſt uncanonical Writings. And though I am no rigid Impoſer of a Diſcipline of mine own deviſing, yet had any thing of this nature entered into the minds of other men, it is not impoſſible that a late Pamphlet, publiſhed by Authority and proclaimed by the Gazette, *Animadverſions upon a late Pamphlet, entituled the* Naked Truth, *or, the true ſtate of the Primitive Church*, might have been ſpared.

That Book ſo called *The Naked Truth*, is a Treatiſe, that, were it not for this its Oppoſer, needs no commendation: being writ with that Evidence and Demonſtration of Spirit, that *all ſober* men cannot but give their Aſſent and Conſent to it, unasked. It is a Book of that kind, that no Chriſtian ſcarce can peruſe it without wiſhing himſelf had been the Author, and almoſt imagining that he is ſo: the Conceptions therein being of ſo Eternal an Idea, that every man finds it to be but the Copy of an Original in his own Mind, and though he never read it till now, wonders it could be ſo long before he remembred it. Neither, although there be a time when as they ſay all truths are not to be ſpoken, could there ever have come forth any thing more ſeaſonable. When the ſickly Nation had been ſo long indiſpoſed and knew not the Remedy but (having Taken ſo many things, that rather did it harm then good.) only longed for ſome Moderation, and as ſoon as it had taſted this, ſeemed to it ſelf ſenſibly to recover. When their Repreſentatives in Parliament had been of late ſo frequent in conſultations of this nature, and they the Phyſitians of the Nation, were ready to have received any wholſome advice for the Cure of our Malady: It appears moreover plainly that the Author is Judicious, Learned, Conſcientious, a ſincere Proteſtant, and

a true Son, if not a Father, of the Church of *England*. For the reſt, the Book cannot be free from the imperfections incident to all humane indeavours, but thoſe ſo ſmall, and guarded every where with ſo much Modeſty, that it ſeems there was none left for the Animadverter, who might otherwiſe have bluſh'd to reproach him. But ſome there were that thought Holy Church was concerned in it, and that no true born Son of our Mother of *England* but ought to have it in deteſtation. Not only the Churches but the Coffee-Houſes rung againſt it, they itinerated like Exciſe-ſpyes from one houſe to another, and ſome of the Morning and Evening Chaplains burnt their lips with perpetual diſcourſing it out of reputation, and loading the Author, whoever he were, with all contempt, malice and obloquy. Nor could this ſuffice them, but a laſting Pillar of Infamy muſt be erected to eternize his Crime and his Puniſhment. There muſt be an anſwer to him, in Print, and that not according to the ordinary rules of civility, or in the ſober way of arguing Controverſie, but with the utmoſt extremity of Jeere, Diſdain, and Indignation: and happy the man whoſe lot it ſhould be to be deputed to that performance. It was Shrove-Tueſday with them, and, not having yet forgot their Boyes-play, they had ſet up this Cock, and would have been content ſome of them to have ventur'd their Coffee-Farthings, yea their Eaſter-Pence by advance, to have a fling at him. But there was this cloſe youth who treads alwayes upon the heels of Eccleſiaſtical Preferment, but hath come nearer the heels *of the Naked Truth* then were for his ſervice, that rather by favour then any tolerable ſufficiency carried away this employment, as he hath done many others from them. So that being the man pitched upon, he took up an unfortunate reſolution that he would be Witty. Infortunate I ſay, and no leſs Criminal: for I dare aver that never any perſon was more manifeſtly guilty of the ſin againſt Nature. But however to write a Book of that virulence, and at ſuch a ſeaſon was very improper: even in the Holy time of Lent when, whether upon the Sacred account, it behoved him rather to have ſubjugated and mortified the ſwelling of his paſſions; or whether upon the Political reaſon, he might well have forborn his young Wit, as but newly Pigg'd or Calv'd, in order to the growth of the yearly ſummer proviſions. Yet to work he fell, not omitting firſt to ſum himſelf up in the whole wardrobe of his Function; as well becauſe his Wit conſiſting wholly in his Dreſſe, he would (and 'twas his concernment to) have it all about him: as to the end that being huff'd up in all his Eccleſiaſtical fluſter, he might appear more formidable, and in the pride of his Heart and Habit out-*boniface* an *Humble Moderator*. So that there was more to do in equipping of Mr. *Smirke* then there is about *Doriman*, and the *Divine in Mode* might have

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vyed with Sir *Fopling Flutter*. The Vestry and the Tiring-Roome were both exhausted, and 'tis hard to say whether there went more attendants toward the Composing of Himself, or of his Pamphlet. Being thus drest up, at last forth he comes in Print. No Poet either the First or the Third day could be more concern'd, and his little Party, like men hired for the purpose, had posted themselves at every corner to feigne a more numerous applause: but clap'd out of time, and disturb'd the whole Company.

Annotations upon his Animadversions on the Title, Dedication, &c.

AT first bolt in his *Animadversions on the Title, the Dedication, and the Epistle to the Reader*, he denounces sentence before inquiry but against the Book it self, forgetting already his subject, so early his brain circulates; and saith, that, *Having perused the Book thoroughly he is abundantly satisfied not only from his* Stile, *which is something Enthusiastick* (his speech bewrays him) *but from his* matter and Principles *if he stick to any, that the Author is a borderer upon Fanaticisme and does not know it.* Even as the Animadverter is upon Wit and Reason; for I have heard that Borderers for the most part, are at the greatest distance, and the most irreconcilable. What the *Stile* is of a *Title*, and what the *Principles* of a *Dedication and Epistle* to the Reader (for these, *if any*, the Animadverter ought here to have stuck to) it's indeed a weighty disquisition fit for a man of his Talent. But I have read them over, and so have others of better judgement, and find every sentence therein poised with so much reverence, humility and judicious Piety, that from an humane pen (allowing the Reader any tolerable share too of Humanity) I know not what more could have been expected. And as to the Matter, it seems to be but a Paraphrase upon the *Principles* of the Song of the Angels; *Glory to God on high, on Earth Peace, Good Will toward men.* If to speak at that rate, and upon such a subject, with so good an intention, be to have an Enthusiastick *Stile* or *Fanatical Principles*, it is the first crime of which I should be glad to be guilty. What in the mean time shall we say to these men, who out of a perverse jealousy they have of the Non-conformists, run, which few wise men do into the contrary extreme, affixing such odious names to every word or thing that is sober and serious, that with their good will they would render it impracticable for men even to discourse pertinently concerning Religion or Christianity? Put it upon this short issue: If the stile of the Epistle before the *Naked Truth* be Enthusiastick and Fanatical, the stile of the Animadverter is presumed, and so allowed of, as Spiritual, Divine, and Canonical.

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The first Evidence that he produces, after so hasty a sentence against the Author, is out of the Book too, not out of the Title, Dedication, or Epistle; that he has said p. 17. *In the Primitive times when the whole world of Jews and Gentiles were enemies to the Church and not one of your Ceremonies to preserve it, the simple* Naked Truth *without any Surplice to cover it, without any Ecclesiastical Policy to maintaine it, overcame all, and so it would do now did we trust to it, and the Defender of it.* And upon this he runs division. *The Defender in Heaven*, God; *the Defender of the Faith* His Majesty; and the many *Defenders* (among whom I suppose he reckons himself of the Principal) *who may be trusted*, This is all fooling, whereas the Author does manifestly intend it of God Almighty, and could not otherwise. For though His Majesty may well be trusted for his Reign with the Defence of the *Naked Truth*, yet most of us know that in the Primitive Times, His Majesty was too young for that imployment, and that it was God alone who could then protect it, when the *Defenders of the Faith* were all Heathens, and most of them Persecutors of Christianity. He then descants no less upon Naked Truth; The *Naked Truth of our Cause*, or *the Naked Truth of the Pamphlet*, or, *he knows not what Naked Truth.* But he saith *it should have been Truth Fle'd* (so he had the Butchery of it) Which is like *Pilate* and no worse man, who when our Saviour told him, he came into the world *John* 18. 37. *That he might bear witness to the Truth*, asked him, *What is Truth?* and then though he confessed *he found no evil in this man*, delivered him over, against his Conscience, to be Stripped, Scourged, *Fley'd*, and afterwards Crucified. Such like also is his talking, that *this is Stripping the Church to skinne, nay skinne and all*, and *skinne for skinne:* so wretchedly does he hunt over hedge and ditch for an University Quibble. The casual progress and leaping consequences of any mans memory are more rational then this method of his understanding, and the Non-Conformists Concordance is a Discourse of more coherence then such Animadversions: I have heard a mad man having got a word by the end ramble after the same manner: in this only he is true to himself, and candid to the Author, having avowed that *he had scann'd the Book thorow*, this hacking and vain repetition being just like it, when we were at our

Montibus inquit erant & erant, sub montibus illis:
Risit Atlantiades, &, me mihi perfide prodis,
Me mihi prodis, ait.

For as I remember this *Scanning* was a liberal Art that we learn'd at Grammar-School; and to *Scann* Verses as he does the Authors Prose, before we did, or were obliged to understand them. But his tugging all this while at *skin, and skin for skin, and all that he has*

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he will give for his life, meerly to hale in an ill favor'd Jeer at the Author, and truly with some profaneness, for proposing the *Naked Truth* as necessary for the *self preservation of our Church*, and an *expedient against Popery*; is, (whatsoever the Animadverters judgement be) a retchlesness and mockery ill becoming his Character. And it savors of the Liquorishness of a Trencher-Chaplain, little concerned in the *Curâ Animarum*, so he may but *Curare Cuticulam*.

But as to his fastidious reproach of the Authors *seeking of God*, *his Fasts and his Prayers*, the Animadverter is more excusable, having doubtless writ his Pamphlet without practising any of these Fanatical Superstitions, as neither was it requisite; But if he had, 'twas such an answer to his Prayers as never before came from Heaven. The Animadverter is proof against all such Exorcismes, and although our Saviour prescribed these remedies against the most obstinate Devils, this man it seems is possessed with a superiour spirit which is not to be cast out, no not by Prayer and Fasting, but sets them at defiance.

Nor had the Animadverter, when he considered himself, less reason to blame the Author for deliberating so long before he published his Book, and for doing it then with so much Modesty. These are Crimes of which the Animadverter will never be suspected or accused by any man, at least they will do him very much wrong, but however it will be impossible ever to convict him of them. But to word it too so supercilious'ly! *This has been the Travel of his mind, since he had these thoughts, which he has been humbly conceiving these two years; time enough for an Elephant to bring forth in.* Why there is, 'tis true, a winged sort of Elephant, hath a peculiar Trunk too like the other, is not so docile and good-natured; but impudent flying in every mans face, and sanguinary thirsting alwayes after blood, and as if it were some considerable Wild-Beast, makes a terrible Buzze; but in conclusion 'tis a pitiful, giddy, blind, troublesome Insect, ingendered in a nights time in every Marish, can but run a Pore thorow and give a skinne-wound, and the least touch of a mans finger will crush it. In the *Naked Truth* it is but a Gnat: and such is the Animadverter compared with the Author.

But in this next Paragraph the Animadverter seems to have outshot himself, that not content with having passed his own Ecclesiastical Censure upon the Author, he forges too in his mind a sentence of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament: who, *he believes* and *'tis probable*, would have doom'd the Book to be burnt by the Hang-man. In this he hath meddled beyond his last: but it is some mens property: yet neither is it so likely they would have done it, at the same time when they were about passing an Act for the easing all Protestant dissenters from Penalties, had he vouch'd for the Convocation,

cation, his Belief, or his probability might have been of more value.

But what has he to do, (yet they have a singular itch to it) with Parliament busines: or how can so thin a scull comprehend or divine the results of the Wisdom of the Nation? Unless he can, as in the Epilogue.

Legion his name, a People in a Man,
And, instead of Sir *FoplingFlutter*, he Mr. *Smirke.*
Be Knight oth'-Shire and represent them all.

Who knows indeed but he may, by some new and extraordinary Writ, have been summon'd upon the Emergency of this Book, to Represent in his peculiar person the whole Representative? Yet by his leave, though he be so, he ought not to Undertake before he be Assembled. I know indeed he may have had some late Precedents for it, and for some years continuance, from men too of his own Profession. And if therefore he should Undertake, and to give a good Tax for it, Yet what security can he have himself, but that there may rise such a Contest between the Lords and Commons within him, that, before they can agree about this Judicial Proceeding against the Book, it may be thought fit to Prorogue him.

The Crimes indeed are hainous, and if the Man and Book be guilty, may when time comes, furnish special matter for an Impeachment. That *he has made a breach upon their Glorious Act of Vniuformity, Violated their Act, their most necessary Act* (the Animadverter hath reason by this time to say so) *against Printing without a License*: and I suppose he reserves another for aggravation in due time; the Act against seditious Conventicles. For these three are all of a piece, and yet are the several Pieces of the Animadverters Armour: and are indeed no less, nor no more then necessary. For considering how empty of late the Church Magazines have been of that Spiritual Armour, which the Apostle found sufficient against the assaults of whatsoever enemy, even of Satan; what could men in all humane reason do less, then to furnish such of the Clergy as wanted, with these Weapons of another Warfare? But, although these Acts were the true effects of the Prudence and Piety of that season, yet it is possible (but who can provide for all cases?) that, if there have not already, there may arise thereby in a short time some notable inconvenience. For suppose that Truth should one day or other come to be Truth and every man a Lyer, (I mean of the humor of this *Parliamentum Indoctum*, this single Representative, this Animadverter) you see there is no more to be said, as the Case stands at present, but Executioner do your Office. Nor therefore can it ever enter into my mind, as to that Act particularly of Printing, that the Law-givers could thereby intend to allow any man a promiscuous Licentiousness, and Monopoly of Printing Pernicious Discourses,

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tending to ſow and increaſe diſſenſion thorow the Land (of which there is but too large a crop already;) as neither of Prohibiting Books dictated by Chriſtian meekneſs and charity for the promoting of Truth and Peace among us, and reconciling our Differences; no nor even of ſuch as are writ to take out the Blots of Printing-Inke, and wipe off the Aſperſions which divers of the Licenſed Clergy caſt upon mens private Reputations: and yet this is the uſe to which the Law is ſomtimes applyed. And this Animadverter, who could never have any rational confidence or pretence to the Preſs or Print, but by an unlucky *Engliſh* ſaying men have, or by the Text-Letters of his *Imprimatur*, arraignes this worthy Author for Printing without Allowance, as if it were a ſin againſt the Eleventh Commandment. Though a *Samaritan* perhaps may not practiſe Phyſick without a Licence, yet muſt a Prieſt and a Levite *always paſs by on the other ſide* and if one of them, in an Age, *pour Oyle and Wine into the Wounds* of our Church (inſtead of Tearing them Wider,) muſt he be Cited for it into the Spiritual Court and incurre all Penalties? This high Charge made me the more curious to inquire particularly how that Book *The Naked Truth* was publiſhed, which the Animadverter himſelf pretends to have got a ſight of with ſome difficulty. And I am credibly informed that the Author cauſed four hundred of them and no more to be Printed againſt the laſt Seſſion but one of Parliament. For nothing is more uſual then to Print and preſent to them Propoſals of Revenue, Matters of Trade, or any thing of Publick Convenience; and ſometimes Caſes and Petitions, and this, which the Animadverter calls the Authors Dedication, is his *humble Petition to the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament*: And underſtanding the Parliament inclined to a Temper in Religion, he prepar'd theſe for the Speakers of both Houſes and as many of the Members as thoſe could furniſh. But that, the Parliament riſing juſt as the Book was delivering out and before it could be preſented, the Author gave ſpeedy order to ſuppreſs it till another Seſſion. Some covetous Printer in the mean time getting a Copy, ſurreptitiouſly Reprinted it, and ſo it flew abroad without the Authors knowledge, and againſt his direction. So that it was not his, but the Printers fault to have put ſo great an obligation upon the publick. Yet becauſe the Author has in his own Copyes, out of his unſpeakable Tenderneſs and Modeſty begg'd pardon of the Lords and Commons, in his Petition, for tranſgreſſing their Act againſt Printing without a Licence, this *Indoctum Parliamentum* miſtaking the Petition as addreſſed to himſelf, will not grant it, but inſults over the Author and upbraids him the rather as a deſperate offender, *that ſins on* he ſaith, goes on ſtill in his wickedneſs, and hath done it *againſt his own Conſcience*. Now truly if this were a ſin, it was a ſin of the firſt Impreſſion.

And the Author appears ſo conſtant to the Church of *England*, and to its Liturgy in particular, that, having confeſſed four hundred times with *an humble, lowly, penitent, and obedient heart*, I doubt not but in aſſiſting at Divine Service he hath frequently ſince that received Abſolution. It is ſomething ſtrange that to publiſh a good Book is a ſin, and an ill one a vertue; and that while one comes out with Authority; the other may not have a Diſpenſation. So that we ſeem to have got an Expurgatory Prieſs, though not an Index, and the moſt Religious Truth muſt be expung'd and ſuppreſſed in order to the falſe and ſecular intereſt of ſome of the Clergy. So much wiſer are they grown by proceſs of time then the Obſolete Apoſtle that ſaid, *We can do nothing againſt the Truth.* But this hath been of late years the practice of theſe ſingle Repreſenters of the Church of *England*, to render thoſe Peccadillioes againſt God as few and inconſiderable as may be, but to make the ſins againſt themſelves as many as poſſible, and theſe to be all hainous and unpardonable. In ſo much that if we of the Laity would but ſtudy our Self-Preſervation, and learn of them to be as true to our ſeparate intereſt as theſe men are to theirs, we ought not to wiſh them any new Power for the future, but after very mature deliberation. Foraſmuch as every ſuch Act does but ſerve, as ſome of them uſe it, to make the good people of *England* walk in peril of their Souls, to multiply ſin and abomination thorow the Land, and by ingaging mens minds under ſpiritual Bondage, to lead them Canonically on into Temporal ſlavery. Whereas the Laity are commonly more temperate and merciful (I might ſay more diſcreet) in the exerciſing of any Authority they are intruſted with, and what Power they have, they will not wear it thred bare: ſo that if I were to commit a fault for my life, (as ſuppoſe by Printing this without a Licenſe) I would chuſe to ſin againſt good Mr. *Oldenburg*.

But this Animadverter is the genuine example of Eccleſiaſtical Clemency, who proceeding on cannot bear that the Author ſhould uſe the Title of an *Humble Moderator* (he thinks him ſure guilty herein *Læſæ Majeſtatis Eccleſiaſticæ*, and that both theſe Qualities are incompatible with one of their Coat, and below the Dignity of any man of the Faculty) much leſs will he indure him when he comes, in the following diſcourſe, to juſtify his Claime to that Title, by *letting his Moderation* according to the Apoſtles precept, *be known to all men, for the Lord is at hand.* But he ſaith that the Author *Aſſumes, Impoſes*, and *Turnes all upſide down*, and witneſſes an *Immoderate Zeal for one* (that is the Non-Conformiſts) *Party*: then which the Animadverter could never have invented a more notorious, ſtudied, and deliberate Falſhood, to prepoſſeſſe and miſlead the gentle Reader: Wherein does he *Aſſume*? He ſpeaks like a Man, a Creature to which Modeſty and Reaſon are peculiar;

liar; not like an Animadverter, that is an Animal which hath nothing Humane in it but a Malicious Grinne, that may Provoke indeed, but cannot Imitate ſo much as Laughter. Wherein does he *Impoſe*? In nothing but by declaring his Opinion againſt all unreaſonable Impoſition? And though it appears natural to him to ſpeak with Gravity, yet he uſurps not any Authority further, then as any man who ſpeaks of a Truth which he thorowly underſtands, cannot with all his Modeſty and Humility hinder others from paying a due Reverence to his Perſon and acquieſcing in his Doctrine. But wherein does he *Turn all upſide down*? This hath been a common Topick of Eccleſiaſtical Accuſation. Our Saviour was accuſed that he would Deſtroy the Temple. The firſt Martyr *Steven* was ſtoned as a Complice. And Saint *Paul* (as ill luck would have it) was made odious upon the ſame Crimination of the Animadverters, Acts 17. v. 5, 6. For, *certain Lewd-fellows of the baſer ſort, ſet all the City in an uproar, crying thoſe that have turned the world* Up-ſide-down *are come hither alſo.* And yet notwithſtanding all theſe Calumnies, *The Naked Truth*, Chriſtianity, hath made a ſhift, God bethanked, to continue till this day: and there will never want thoſe that bear teſtimony to it, even to the Primitive Chriſtianity, maugre all the arts that the men of Religion can contrive to miſrepreſent and diſcountenance it. But as for the *Turning all up-ſide-down*, the Animadverter is ſomewhat innocent, if by the defect of his Organ, as it fares with thoſe whoſe Brain turnes round, (So we vulgarly expreſſe it) he have imagined that the world is tumbling headlong with him. But as to the Prejudice, which he therefore reſerved as the moſt effectual and taking to undoe the Author by, that he is *Immoderately Zealous for the Non-Conformiſts*; it is the effect of as ſtrong a Phancy, or as Malicious an Intention as the Former; it being ſcarce poſſible to open the Book in any place without chancing upon ſome paſſage where he makes a firm Profeſſion, or gives a clear proof of his real ſubmiſſion and Addiction to the Church of *England*: all his fault for ought I ſee being, that he is more Truly and Cordially concerned for our Church then ſome mens Ignorance is capable of, or their corrupt intereſt can comply with. But therefore whoever were the adviſer it is not well done to uſe him in this dirty manner. There is no prudence in it, nor whereas the Author, in excuſe that he ſets not his name, ſaith it is, *becauſe he is a man of great Paſſions, and not able to bear a Reproach* (The Animadverter had done fairer to cite the whole, *or Commendations: my ſmall Ability puts me out of danger of the laſt, but in great fear of the former.*) Therefore to reſolve thus (whereas they might have undone him you ſee by Commendation) the rather to Reproach him, now they have learn't his Feeble Holy Church, I can tell you hath ſuffered upon that account ſo often that it were time for her to be wiſer. For by exaſperating

men of Parts, who out of an ingenious love of Truth have temperatly Writ against some abuses, She hath added Provocation to mens Wit to look still further; insomuch that at last it hath sometimes produced (then which nothing can be more dangerous to the Church) a Reformation. Therefore, though Christ hath commanded his Followers (so it be not I suppose out of his Way) that if any man press them to go one mile, they should go two; yet it is not wisdom in the Church to pretend to, or however to exercise, that Power of *Angariating* men further then their occasions or understandings will permit. If a man cannot go their Length 'tis better to have his company in quiet as far as his Road lyes. For my part I take the Church of *England* to be very happy in having a Person of his Learning and Piety so far to comply with Her; and, if my advice might be taken, She should not lose one inch more of him by handling him irreverently. For if once She should totally lose him, God knows what an Instrument he might prove, and how much good he might do in the Nation, more then he ever yet thought of. What a shame it is to hear the Animadverter abuse him (who by the very Character of his Stile appears no Vulgar Person, and by how much he hath more of Truth, hath more of Gods Image, and should therefore have imprinted that Awe upon him that Man hath over most Brutes:) he to trifle with so worthy a person at that rate, that one would not use the meanest Varlet, the dullest School-boy, the rankest Idiot, no nor the veryest Animadverter! However he saith, *the Author hath done himself and him the Animadverter a great favour, by concealing his Name, in making it impossible for him to reflect upon his Person* (otherwise it seems he should have had it home) *which he knows no more then the Man in the Moon.* But therefore I am the rather jealous he did know him: for the Animadverter having a Team of *Gnaz'as* alwayes a his devotion, and being able if any one tired by the way to relieve it and draw in person, never think that he would want intelligence in that Region. Come 'twas all but an affected ignorance in the Animadverter, and he had both inquired and heard as much as any of us who was the probable Author: and all the Guard that he Lyes upon is, because the Author had not given him legal notice that he Writ it. And this was even as the Animadverter would have wished it. For if a Reverend Person had openly avowed it, he could not have been sawcy with so good a Grace: But under the pretence of *not knowing*, Sir, that it was you, but only, Sir, *as you were the Patron of so vile a Cause*, many a dry bob, close gird, and privy nip has he given him. Yet he saith, the *Author would have done well, and a piece of Justice to have named himself, so to have cleared others: for it hath been confidently layed to the charge of more then one Reverend Person* (how slily!) *who (I have great reason to believe, and am several ways assured) had no hand in it.* Truly the Animadverter

verter too would have done a piece of Justice to have named himself; for there has been more then one Witty person traduced for his Pamphlet, and I believe by this time he would take it for a great favour if any man would be such a Fool as own it for him. For he very securely reproaches the Author, and yet I have been seeking all over for the Animadverters name, and cannot find it. Notwithstanding that he writes forsooth in defence of the Church of *England*; and *against so vile a Cause*, as he stiles it, and under the Publick Patronage. Which is most disingenuously done, as on other accounts, so in respect of my Lord Bishop of *London*, whom he has left in the lurch to justify another mans Follyes with his Authority. But however that venerable Person, who has for Learning, Candor, and Piety, as he does for Dignity also, outstripp'd his Age and his Fellows, have been drawn in to License what certainly he cannot approve of, it was but his First Fruits, and a piece of early liberality, as is usual, upon his new Promotion, and I am given to understand that, for the Animadverters sake, it is like to be the last that he will allow of that nature. But this is not only a Trick of the Animadverters, but ordinary with many others of them; who while we write at our own peril, and perhaps set our names to it, (for I am not yet resolved whether I can bear Reproach or Commendation) they that raile for the Church of *England*, and under the Publick License and Protection, yet leave men, as if it were at Hot-Cockles, to guesse blind-fold who it is that hit them. But it is possible that some of these too may lie down in their turnes. What should be the reason of it? sure theirs is not *so Vile a Cause* too that they dare not abide by it. Or are they the Writers conscious to themselves that they are such Things *as ought not once to be Named among Christians*? Or is it their own sorry performance that makes them ashamed to avow their own Books? Or is there some secret force upon them that obliges them to say things against their Conscience? Or would they reserve a Latitude to themselves to turn Non-Conformists again upon occasion? Or do they in pure honesty abstaine from putting a single Name to a Book, which hath been the workmanship of the whole Dioces?

But though he know not his Name, *seeing he has vented his own Amusements to the Churches great and real prejudice* he saith, (and *that is this Case*) *he must not think to scape for the Godliness of his Stile*: Impious and most unmerciful! Poor *David* was often in this *Case*. Psal. 22. *They gaped upon him with their Mouth. He trusted*, said they, *in the Lord that he would deliver him, let him deliver him seeing he delighted in him.* And Psal. 71. 11. *Persecute and take him, there is none to deliver him.* And yet there are many places too in Scripture, where God spared men even for their outward Formalities, and their Hypocrise served to delay his Judgements; and should he not still do so, the Church might re-

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receive *greater prejudice.* But the Church, and God are two things, and are not it ſeems oblidged to the ſame Meaſures: inſomuch that even the ſincerity of one Perſon, which might perhaps attone for a whole Order and render them acceptable both to God and Man, yet cannot hope for his own pardon.

Neither muſt he think to ſcape for a Man of good Intentions: yet ſure he is, elſe would not give the Devil ſo much more then his due, ſaying he would never condemne any good action though done by the Devil, As if ſaith the Animadverter, *he ſuppoſed the Devil might do ſome ſuch.* Here he thinks he has a ſhrewd hit at him, and this if a man had leiſure might beget a Metaphyſical Controverſy: but I deſire him rather to comment on that Text: *Doeſt thou Believe: thou doeſt well, the Devils alſo Believe and Tremble.* Whereas he goeth on to mock at the Authors *Good Intentions*, and tells him pleaſantly that, *Hell it ſelf is full of ſuch as were once full of Good Intentions:* 'tis a Concluding piece of Wit, and therefore, as well as for the Rarity, ſhould be civilly treated and incouraged; ſo that I ſhall uſe no further retortion there, that if this be the qualification of ſuch as go to Hell, the Animadverter hath ſecured himſelf from coming there and ſo many more as were his Partners. And thus much I have ſaid upon his *Animadverſions on the Title*, &c. Wherein, he having miſrepreſented the Author and prejudicated the Reader againſt him by all diſingenuous methods, and open'd the whole Pedlers-pack of his malice, which he half-p— worths out in the following diſcourſe to his petty Chapmen, I could not properly ſay leſs, though it exceeds perhaps the number of his Pages. For it is ſcarce credible how vuluminous and pithy he is in extravagance: and one of his ſides in *Quarto*, for Falſhood, Inſolence, and Abſurdity contains a Book in *Folio.* Beſides, the Reader may pleaſe to conſider how much labour it coſts to Bray even a Little Thing in a Mortar: and that Calumny is like *London*-dirt, with which though a man may be ſpatter'd in an inſtant, yet it requires much time, pains, and Fullers-earth to ſcoure it out again.

Annotations upon the *Animadverſions* on the firſt Chapter, concerning *Articles of Faith.*

THe Play begins. *I Confeſs* (Do ſo then and make no more words) *when firſt I ſaw this Jewel of a Pamphlet, and had run over two or three pages of this Chapter, I ſuſpected the Author for ſome Youngſter that had been Dabbling amongſt the* Socinian *Writers, and was ambitious of ſhewing*

ſhowing us his Talent in their way. I was quickly delivered from this Jealouſy, by his Orthodox Contradictory expreſſions in other places. That word *Jewel* is commonly uſed in a good ſenſe, and I know no reaſon why this Book of the Authors might not be properly enough called ſo, though the Animadverter hath debaſed the meaning of the word to deprave and undervalue the worth of the Treatiſe. For I perceive that, during his Chaplainſhip, he hath learnt it in converſation with the Ladies, who tranſlate it frequently to call Whore in a more civil and refined ſignification. But to ſay thus, that *he ſuſpected him at firſt for a* Socinian, *yet was quickly cured of his Jealouſy*, becauſe he found the Author was Honeſt and *Orthodox*. Why ſhould he *vent his own Amuſements* thus *to the great and real prejudice* of any worthy perſon? It is indeed a piece of ſecond Ingenuity for a man, that invents and ſuggeſts a Calumny of which he is ſure to be convict in the inſtant, therefore with the ſame breath to diſclaim it: but it manifeſts in the mean time how well he was inclined if he thought it would have paſſ'd upon the Author; and that could the Animadverter have ſecured his Reputation, he would have adventured the Falſhood. What would he not have given to have made the world believe that he was a *Socinian*! In this beginning you have a right Pattern of the Animadverters whole Stuffe, and may ſee what Meaſure the Author is to expect all thorow.

But *he finds*, he ſaith, *that he is one of the* Men of the ſecond Rate, (*as he takes leave to ſtile them*) *that ſcarce ever ſee to the ſecond Conſequence.* At firſt I ſuſpected from this expreſſion that the Animadverter had been ſome Ship-Chaplain, that had been *Dabbling* in the Sea-Controverſies, a Tarpawlin of the Faculty: but I was *quickly delivered from this Jealouſy by his* Magiſterial *Contradictions*, that ſhew him to be a man of more *Conſequence*, one of them whoſe Eccleaſtical Dignities yet cannot wean them from a certain hankering after the Wit of the Laity, and applying it as their own upon (or 'tis no great matter though it be without) occaſion. Yet *therefore once for all he Proteſts*, too, *that he does not charge him with any of his own moſt obvious Conſequences as his Opinions* (for who would believe the one or other that reads the Author?) *for 'tis plaine that he does not* (nor any man that hath Eyes) *diſcerne them.* This is a Candor pregnant with Contempt. But in the mean time he thinks it ingenuous to load this *ſecond Rate* Frigat, (that was fitted out for the Kings and the Nations ſervice) ſo deep that ſhe can ſcarce ſwim, with a whole Cargo of Conſequences which are none of the Authors, but will, upon ſearch, be all found the Animadverters proper goods and Trade, his own Inconſequences and Inanimadverſions. So men with vicious Eyes ſee Spiders weave from the Brim of their own Beavers.

As for example. p. 1. He ſaith that *this Chapter does admirably ſerve the*

the turn of the rankeſt Sectarian. That in his two or three firſt pages he appeared a Socinian. p. 12. That his *Pique at the new word* Homoouſios *carryes ſuch an ugly reflection upon the* Nicene *Creed, that he*, the Animadverter, *ſcarſe dares underſtand him.* p. 6. The Author ſpeaking againſt introducing new Articles of Faith, the Adverſary tells him; *he hopes he does not mean all our Thirty Nine Articles*; and defends them as if they were attaqued. That *he does implicitly condemne the whole Catholick Church both Eaſt and Weſt for being ſo preſumptuous in her Definitions.* p. 9. That *upon his Principles the Prime and moſt neceſſary Articles of Faith will be in danger. The old dormant Hereſies*, Monothelites, Neſtorians, *&c. May ſafely revive again.* p. 13. That his *are the very Dreggs of Mr.* Hobbs *his Divinity, and worſe*, p. 14. That *he would have ſome men live like Pagans and go to no Church at all*, p. 16 *So for ought we know this Author is a Jeſuite, and writes this Pamphlet only to embroile us Proteſtants.* p. 25, That *he is guilty of unthought, of Popery.* p. 33. That our Author *like her* (the fooliſh woman) *in the* Proverbs, *plucks down our Church with his own hands* and that *ſhe had need therefore be upheld againſt ſuch as he is.* Of theſe Inferences which, not being natural, muſt have required ſome labour, he is all along very liberal to the Author; but the vile and inſolent language coſts him nothing, ſo that he lays that on prodigally and without all reaſon. Now whether a man that holds a true Opinion, or he that thus deduces ill Conſequences from it, be the more blame-worthy, will prove to be the Caſe between the Animadverter and the Author. *And* (to ſhew him now from whence he borrowed his Wit of the ſecond Rate, and at the ſecond Hand)

—— all the ſubject matter of debate,
Is only who's the Knave of the Firſt Rate.

But he ſaith, becauſe of theſe things, *the Miſchief being done, to undoe the Charme again it is become a Duty to* Expoſe *him.* Alas what are they going to do with the poor man? What kind of death is this *Expoſing*? But ſure, conſidering the Executioner, it muſt be ſome Learned ſort of Cruelty. Is it the *Teda*, in which they candled a Man over in Wax, and he, inſtead of the wick, burnt out to his lives end like a Taper, to give light to the Company? Or is it the *Scapha*, wherein a man, being ſtripp'd Naked and Smear'd with Honey, was in the ſcorching Sun abandon'd to be ſtung and Nibbled by Waſps, Hornets, and all troubleſome Inſects *till* he expired? Or is it rather *ad Beſtias*, turning him out unarmed to be bated, worryed, and devour'd, by the wild Beaſts in the Theatre? For in the Primitive Times there were theſe and an hundred laudable ways more to *Expoſe* Chriſtians; and the Animadverter ſeems to have ſtudied them. But the Crime being of Sorcery, and that there is a *Charm* which hath wrought great *Miſchief and*

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is not to be undone but by Expoſing *the Malefactor* (Charme he never ſo wiſely) 'tis more probable that it may be the Puniſhment uſual in ſuch Caſes. And indeed the Animadverter hath many times in the day ſuch Fits take him, wherein he is lifted up in the Aire that ſix men cannot hold him down, teares, raves, and foams at the mouth, caſts up all kind of traſh, ſomtimes ſpeakes *Greek* and *Latine*, that no man but would ſwear he is bewitched: and this never happens but when the Author appeares to him. And though in his *Animadverſions on the Title* &c. He hath ſo often ſcratched and got blood of him (the infallible Country Cure) yet he ſtill finds no eaſe by it, but is rather more tormented. So that in earneſt I begin to ſuſpect him for a Witch, or however, having writ *the Naked Truth*, 'tis manifeſt he is a Sooth-ſayer, that's as bad. Many perſons beſides have for tryal run needleſs up to the Eye in ſeveral remarkable places of his *Naked Truth*, that look like moles or warts upon his body, and yet he, though they prick never ſo much, feels nothing. Nay ſome others of the Clergy, whereof one was a Biſhop, have tyed him hand and foot and thrown him into the *Thames* betwixt *Whitehall* and *Lambeth*, for experiment; laying ſo much weight too on him as would ſink any ordinary man, and nevertheleſs he ſwims ſtill and keeps above Water. So dangerous is it to have got an *Ill Name* once, either for ſpeaking Truth or for Incantation, that it comes to the ſame thing almoſt to be Innocent or Guilty: for if a man ſwim he is Guilty, and to be Burnt; if he ſinke, he is Drowned, and Innocent. But therefore this *Expoſing* muſt ſurely be to condemne the Author, as he has done his Book already, to the Fire, (for no man ſtands fairer for't as being firſt Heretick, and now Witch by Conſequence) and then the Devil ſure can have no more power over the Animadverter. Yet when I conſider'd better that he does not accuſe him of any harme that he has ſuffered by him in perſon, but that it is the *Church which may juſtly Complain of him*, and having done her ſo much *miſchiefe, therefore it is become a Duty to Expoſe him*, I could not but imagine that it muſt be a ſeverer Torment. For if our Church be bewitched, and he has done it,

Huic mites nimium Flammas, huic lenta putaſſem,
Flumina, fumiferi potaſſet nubila Peti.

Though I never heard before of a Church that was Bewitched except that of the *Galatians*, *Gal.* 3. 1. Whom Saint *Paul* asks *O fooliſh* Galatians *who hath* Bewitched *you*? taking it for evident that they were ſo, *becauſe* (they are his very next words) *they did not obey the Truth.* (And that was a *Naked Truth* with a Witneſs, the Apoſtle teaching, *that Chriſt is become of none effect to them, that from their Chriſtian Liberty returned to the Jewiſh Ceremonies.* Gal. 5. 4.) But therefore I looked over the *Canons*, the *Rational*, the *Ceremonial*, the *Rubrick*, imagining the *Expoſing* men ion'd,

must

must beſome new part of our Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, that I had not taken notice of before, and I ſhould find it in one or other of the Offices. But I loſt my labour, and 'twas but juſt I ſhould, for being ſo ſimple, as not to underſtand at firſt that to *Expoſe* a man, is to write *Animadverſions* upon him. For that is a crueller Torment then all the Ten Perſecutors (and which none but this Clergy-man could have) invented. To be ſet in the Pillary firſt, and bedawb'd with ſo many Addle Eggs of the Animadverters own Cackle as he pelts him with! How miſerable then is the man that muſt ſuffer afterwards, *ſub tam lento Ingenio*! To be raked and harrowed thorow with ſo ruſty a Saw! So dull a Torture that it contains all other in it, and which even the Chriſtian Reader is ſcarce able to indure with all his Patience! Had he been a man of ſome acuteneſs, the pain would have been over in an inſtant: but this was the utmoſt inhumanity in whoever it was that adviſed (whereas ſeveral witty men, were propoſed that would have been glad of the the imployment) to chuſe out onpurpoſe the veryeſt (Animadverter) in all the Faculty. This it is to which the Author is condemned. And now that I know it, and that it is an Office a Duty to which our Church it ſeems has advanc'd the Animadverter; I wiſh him Joy of his new Preferment, and ſhall henceforward take notice of him as the Church of *England*'s Expoſer, for I can never admit him by any Analogy to be an Expoſitor.

It is no leſs diſingenuouſly, then conſtantly done of the Expoſer in this ſame; *p.* 1. To concern the Author in the Non-Conformiſts, that may have reflected any where, as if there were *Socinian*, or *Pelagian* Doctrines; *Allowed to be preached and maintained in the City-Pulpits.* For the Author hath not in his whole Book the leaſt ſyllable that can be wreſted to any ſuch purpoſe. Only it ſerves the Adverſaries turn, as he thinks, to preingage the whole Clergy and Church of *England* againſt him, if they were ſo ſimple, and by giving him an odious Badge and jumbling them altogether, to involve him in all the prejudices which are ſtudiouſly advanced againſt that party. But neither have I any thing to urge of that nature further then, becauſe he will out of ſeaſon mention theſe matters, to obſerve that our Church ſeems too remiſs in the Caſe of *Socinus* and *Volkelius*, who had many things to great value ſtolen from them by a late Plagiary, but as yet have not obtained any Juſtice or Reſtitution.

But ſeeing the Expoſer is thus given to transforme not only the Author, but his words and his meaning; it is requiſite to ſtate this Chapter in his own Terms: as men ſet their Arms on their Plate, to prevent the nimbleneſs of ſuch as would alter the property. The ſum of what he humbly propoſes is: *That nothing hath cauſed more miſchief in the Church, then the eſtabliſhing New and Many Articles of Faith, and requiring men to*

aſſent

aſſent to them with Divine Faith. For the impoſing ſuch on Diſſenters, hath cauſed furious Wars and lamentable Blood-ſhed among Chriſtians. That it is irrational to promote the Truth of the Goſpel by Impoſition, which is contrary to the Laws of the Goſpel, and break an evident Commandment to eſtabliſh a doubtful Truth. For if ſuch Articles be not fully expreſſed in Scripture words, it is Doubtful to him upon whom it is Forced, though not to the the Impoſer. If it be fully expreſſed in Scripture Words, there needs no new Articles: but if not ſo, and that it be only Deduced from Scripture Expreſſions, then men that are as able and knowing as the Impoſer, may think it is not clearly Deduced from Scripture. But there is nothing more Fully Expreſt, or that can be more clearly Deduced from Scripture, nor more ſuitable to Natural Reaſon, then that no man ſhould be Forced to Believe. Becauſe no man can Force himſelf to believe, no not even to believe the Scriptures. But Faith is a work of peculiar Grace and the Gift of God. And if a man Believe what is Clearly Contain'd in Scripture, he needs not believe any thing elſe with Divine Faith. To add to, or deminiſh from the Scripture, is by it unlawful, and lyable to the Curſe in the Revelation. If the Impoſer anſwer, he requires not to Believe it as Scripture, he doth, if he urge it to be believed with Divine Faith. If he ſay he requires it not to be Believed with Divine Faith, he does, if he make it neceſſary to Salvation. There is no Command nor Countenance given in the Goſpel to uſe Force to cauſe men Believe. We have no Comprehenſive Knowledge of the Matters declared in Scripture, that are the Prime and Neceſſary Articles of Faith, therefore it is not for any man to Declare one Tittle more to be Believed with Divine Faith, then God hath there Declared. He cannot find the leaſt hint in the Word of God to uſe any Force to Compel men to the Churches eſtabliſhed Doctrine or Diſcipline: and from Reaſon there can be no motive to be Forced beyond their Reaſon. To attempt any ſuch Force, though to the True Beliefe, is to do Evil that Good may come of it. But the Paſtor ought firſt by plaine and ſound Doctrine to ſtop the Mouths of Gainſayers. When the Miniſters have Preached and Prayed, they have done all they can in order to mens Believing, the reſt muſt be left to the Juſtice or Mercy of God. But if turbulent ſpirits broach New Doctrines, Contrary to Scripture, or not Clearly Contained in the Goſpel, and neither by Admonitions nor Intreaties will be ſtopt, the Paſtors may proceed to the Exerciſe of the Keys. Which if it were duely performed as in the Primitive Times, and not by Lay Chancellors and their ſurrogates, would be of great effect. The Magiſtrate ought to ſilince and oppoſe ſuch as preach what is Contrary to or not Clearly Contained in the Goſpel, and if they perſevere in their perverſneſs, he may uſe his power with Chriſtian Moderation. For his power reaches to Puniſh Evil Doers, who Publiſh or Practiſe ſomthing to ſubvert the Fundamentals of Religion. or to Diſturbe the Peace of the State, or to Injure their Neighbours: but not to Puniſh Evil Believers. But if the Magiſtrate ſhall conceive he hath

power also to punish Evil Believers, and on that Pretence shall punish True Believers, the Subject is bound to submit and bear it, to the loss of Goods, Liberty or Life. The Reader will excuse this one long Quotation, for it will much shorten all that followes.

But now for which of these is it that 'tis become a Duty to Expose him? What is there here that seems not, at first sight, very Christian, very Rational? But however, it is all delivered in so Grave and Inoffensive manner, that there was no temptation to alter the stile into Ridicule, and Satyre. But like some Cattle, the Animadverter, may browze upon the Leaves, or Peel the Barke, but he has not teeth for the Solid, nor can hurt the Tree but by accident. Yet a man that sees not into *the second*, but the Thirteenth *Consequence*, that is one *of the Disputers of this World*, and *ought to be admitted to these Doubtfull Disputations* (from which he ironically by St. *Pauls* rule forsooth excludes the Author) what is there that such an one, so subtile, so piercing, cannot distinguish upon and Controvert? Truth it self ought to sacrifice to him that he would be propitious: For if he appear on the other side, it will go against her unavoidably.

In his 27. P. he is ravisht in Contemplation how *Rarachose* it is, to *see or hear a material Question in Theology defended in the University-Schools, where one stands a Respondent, enclos'd within the Compass of his Pen, as* Popilius *the* Roman *Embassador, made a Circle with his Wand about* Antiochus, *and bid him give him a determinate answer before he went out of it*; a most apt and learned resemblance, and which shews the Gentlemans good reading! But it is, I confess a noble spectacle, and worthy of that Theater which the munificence of the present Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* hath dedicated in one (may it be too in the other) of our Universities; where no Apish *Scaramuccio*, no Scenical Farces, no Combat of Wild-Beasts among themselves, or with men condemn'd, is presented to the People; but the modest Skirmish of Reason, and which is usually perform'd so well that it turns to their great honour, and of our whole Nation. Provided the Chaire be well filled, with an Orthodox Professor, and who does not by *Solœcismes* in *Latine*, or mistake of the Argument, or Question, render the thing ridiculous to the By-standers. That the Pew be no less fitted with a Respondent, able to sustaine and answer in all points the expectation of so Learned an Auditory: That the Opponent likewise exceed not the terms of Civility, nor Cavil where he should Argue; and that the Questions debated be so discreetly chosen, as there may be no danger, by Controverting the Truth, to unsettle the minds of the Youth ever after, and innure them to a Disputable Notion about the most weighty points of our Re-Religon; by which sort of subtilizing the Church hath in former Ages much suffered, nor hath Ours in the Latter wholly escaped.

Now,

Now, seeing the Exposer seems to delight so much (as men use in what they excell) in this Exercise, he and I, because we cannot have the conveniency of the *Schools* and *Pen*, will play as well as we can in Paper, at this new Game of *Antiochus* and *Popilius*. I must for this time be the *Roman* Senator, and he the Monarch of *Asia*: for by the Rules of the Play, he always that hath writ the last Book is to be *Antiochus*, until the other has done replying. And I hope to gird him up to close within his Circle, that he shall appear very slender. For I am sensible, yet could not avoid it, how much of the Readers and mine own time I have run out in examining his Levity; but now I am glad to see my labour shorten: for, having thus plumed him of that puffe of Feathers, with which he buoy'd himself up in the Aire, and flew over our heads, it will, almost by the first *Consequence*, be manifest in his Argument, how little a Soul it is, and Body, that henceforward I am to deal with.

The Author having said that, *That which we commonly call the Apostles Creed, is, and was so received by the Primitive Church, as the sum Total of Christian Faith, necessary to Salvation. Why not now? Is the state of Salvation alter'd? If it be Compleat, what need other Articles?* The Exposer p. 2. answers. *There may have been needful heretofore, not only other Articles, but other Creeds for the further Explication of these Articles in the Apostles Creed: and yet in those* New Creeds *not one* New Article. 'Tis safely and cautiously said, *there May*, and not *there Were* other Articles and other Creeds needful. But the whole Clause besides is so drawn up, as if he affected the Academical glory of justifying a Paradox: nor is it for the reputation of such Creeds, whatever they be, to be maintained by the like Methods. But seeing he disdains to explicate further, how there can be a New Creed, and yet not one New Article; I will presume to understand him, and then say, that in such Creeds, whatsoever Article does either explaine the Apostles Creed Contrary to, or Beside the Scripture, or does not containe the same Express Scriptural Authority, (which only makes this that is called the Apostles Creed to be Authentick) that is a New Article to every man that cannot conceive the necessary Deduction. But then he galls the Author: *The Apostles Creed* is the sum of the Christian Faith *True. Yet I hope he will not think the* Nicene, *the* Constantinopolitan, *and the* Athanasian Creed Superfluous and and unnecessary. First, it is not necessary to take all those Three in the Lump, as the Exposer puts it: for perhaps a man may think but one, or but two of them to have been superfluous, and unnecessary. Next it is an hard thing for the Exposer, who ought rather to have proved that they were necessary to shift it back thus upon the Author. I have not spoke with him, nor know whether I shall as long as I live, (though I should be glad of the opportunity) to know his mind. But suppose he should think them, One, Two, or Three Unnecessary, who can help it?

it? But so much I think, upon the State or sum of this Controversie in his own words, I may adventure for him; that as Confessions of Faith he does not disapprove them, (taking it granted there is nothing in any of them flatly against the Word of God) but that if any thing be therein drawn up in such or such an exact Forme of Words, not Expressed in Scripture, and required to be Believed with Divine Faith, as necessary to a Mans own Salvation, and without Believing which, he must Declare too that no Man else can be saved; that this is Dangerous, and the imposing of it is Unwarrantable by Reason or Scripture, He adds in this same Paragraph, that *the Authors Censure upon* Constantine *is so bold and upon some Godly Bishops, (whom* he conceives more Zealous then Discreet, *and so do some Godly Bishops conceive of this Author) and his Pique at the New Word* Homoousios *carryes such an ugly reflection upon the Creed, that he scarce dare understand him,* And I on the other side take his *Fears* and his *Hopes* to be alike inconsiderable. His words are p. 6. *I am confident had the most prudent and pius* Constantine, *the First and Best of Christian Emperours pursued his own intention, to suppress all Disputes, and all new Questions about God the Son, both* Homoousian, *and* Homoiousian, *and commanded all to acquiesce in the very Scripture Expressions, without any addition, that the* Arrian *Heresie had soon expired.* I note that the Exposer very disingenuously, and to make it look more ugly, take not the least notice of his Pique against *Homoiousios* too and the *Arrian Heresie.* But what is there here to fright the understanding Animadverter out of his Wits, or what to make *some Godly Bishops* (who it seems must be numberless or nameless) *to conceive the Author more Zealous then Discreet?* But for this Censure of the Author, as well as for the Godliness of the Bishops, we must acquiesce it seems upon the Credit, or Gratitude of one Nameless Exposer.

He then blames the Author p. 3. for saying p. 1. that *he would have men improve in Faith rather* Intensive, *then* Extensive, *to confirm it, rather then enlarge it.* Still and alwayes, to make things a little more ugly and of less value, he clips the Authors good English. *You would have men improve in Faith, so would I, but rather* Intensive *then* Extensive. *'Tis good to know all Gospel Truths, no doubt of that, the more the better still; but the Question is not what is Good, but what is Necessary.* This is a pious and undonbted Truth, and confirm'd by the Author out of several Places of Scripture: May I add one *Marke* the 9.17. Where *one brought his Son, being troubled with a Dumb Spirit to our Saviour* v. 23. Jesus *saith to the Father, if thou canst Believe, all things are possible to him that Believeth. The Father coyes out with tears, Lord I Believe, strengthen thou my Unbelief.* And this Confession of the Intensive Truth of his Faith, with his relyance upon Christ for the strengthening of it, was sufficient to cooperate with our Saviour toward a Miracle, and throwing that Dumb and

Deaf

Deaf Spirit out of a third Person. Whoever indeed will deny this Truth, must go against the whole current of the New Testament. But the Exposer is Deaf to that, 'tis all one to him. Yet he is not Dumb, though as good he had, for all he has to say to it is: *And yet it is certaine that all formal and mortal Hereticks, that are not Atheists, are justly condemn'd for want of due extension in their Faith.* What pertinence! But there goes more Faith I see to the ejecting of a Talkative then of a Dumb Spirit. There is no need of further answer to so succinct a Bob, then that it had been well those terms of *Formal*, and *Mortal*, and *Hereticks*, and no less that of *Condemned* had in this place been thorowly explained. For we know that there was a time when the Protestants themselves were the *Formal*, and, to be sure, the *Mortal Hereticks*, even here in *England*, and for that very crime too, *For want of due extention in their Faith*, they were *Condemned*, whether justly or no, it is in the Exposers power to determine. For some of our Ruling Clergy, who yet would be content to be accounted good Protestants, are so loath to part with any hank they have got, at what time soever, over the poor Laity, or what other reason, that the Writ *de Haretico Comburendo*, though desired to be abolish'd, is still kept in force to this day. So that it is of more concernment then one would at first think, how far mens *Faith* (least afterwards for Believing short their Persons and Estates) *be Extended*, or taken in Execution.

He proceeds page the 3. and several that follow, to quarel the Author for quoting to this purpose *Acts* 8. and then saying: *I pray remember the Treasurer* (the Exposer will do it I warrant you, and the Chancellor too, without more intreaty) *to* Candace *Queen of* Ethiopia, *whom* Philip *instructed with in the Faith. His time of Catechising was very short and soon proceeded to Baptisme. But* Philip *first required a Confession of his Faith, and the Eunuch made it, and I beseech you observe it.* I believe that Jesus Christ *is the Son of God, and straight way he was Baptized*: How, no more then *this? No more. This little Grain of Faith, being sound, believed with-all his heart, purchased the Kingdom of Heaven. 'Tis not the Quantity but the Quality of our Faith God requireth.* Here the Exposer, pretending now to be a learned Expositor, hopes to win his Spurrs, and layes out all his ability to prove that *Philip* (in a very short time for so much work as he finds him) had instructed the Treasurer thorow the whole *Athanasian* Creed; concerning the *Equality*, *Inseparability*, *Coeternity of the Three Persons in the Trinity. For*, saith the Exposer, *the very Forme of Baptisme, if thorowly explained, is a perfect Creed by it self:* In the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost: *For it seems the name of the* Son, *was by a Divine Criticisme interposed between the other two Persons, whose Godhead was confest and acknowledged by the* Jewish *Church, rather then that of the* Word, *to denote the second Person*, &c. I should

be glad to know where the Exposer learnt that the *Jewish* Church acknowledged the Godhead of the Holy Ghost, as of a Distinct Person; which if he cannot show, he is very far out in the Matter, as he is in that Expression of *Divine Criticisme*. Therefore he may do well to Consider. But it is simply, to say no worse, done of him, to call that Forme of words as it is ordered by our Saviour himself, a *Divine Criticisme*, as if *Christ* had therein affected that Critical glory, which the Exposer himself in so subtile a Remarke doubtless pretends to. But the Exposer will not only have *Philip* to have instructed the Treasurer in this *Criticisme*, but to have read him so long a Lecture upon Baptisme, as must for certaine have been out of the Assemblies, and not *Noel's* Catechisme: *acquainting him and instructing him abundantly, in those great Points of Faith, the Dying, Burying, and Rising again of* Christ *for our Justification from our sins, together with the Thing signified, Death unto sin, Mortification, the New Birth unto Righteousness, then the Mistery of the First and Second Covenant, Original sin, how thereby he was a Son of Wrath, had hereby Forgiveness, of sins, Adoption, being made a Child of Grace, Co-Heire with* Christ, *to live with him in the Communion of Saints, after the Resurrection, in Life Everlasting*. I am glad to see that, at least when it serves to his purpose, this Exposer will own all the Doctrines, which another Exposer would have call'd *so many Stages of Regeneration*, and have thought them too many to have drove over in one dayes journey, but would rather have turn'd out of the Road, and lay'd short all night somewhere by the way. Here is a whole *Calvinistical Systeme* of Divinity, that, if the Treasurer had been to be Baptized in the *Lake* of *Geneva*, more could not have been expected. And he has in a trice made him so perfect in it, that, as soon as the Christ'ning was over, he must have been fit to be received not only *ad Communionem Laecam*, but the *Clericam also*, if it were then come into fashion. These Exposers are notable men, they are as good as Witches, they know all things, and what was done, and what was not done equally. In earnest, he has made us as formal a story of all *Philip* said, and the Treasurer believ'd; as if he had sate all the while in the Coock-boot, and knows how long the discourse lasted, as well, as if he had set his Watch when they began, and look'd upon it just as the Spirit caught up *Philip* to *Azotus*. But (suppose, for the Exposers sake, that the Treasurer) were in a Coach, discourse, and for all the rumbling, so distinctly and thorowly, in so short a time too, if it had been, which is the uttermost, a dayes passage Care humeniz'ed) it came to this short Print between them. The Treasurer desires to be Baptized, *Philip* replys; *If thou believest with all thine heart thou mayest*, which can never signifie otherwise then with all the Intention of our Spirit, as when we are said to love God with all our Heart: The Treasurer replyes, and that's all, *I believe that* Jesus Christ *is the*

Son

Son of God. Now it is worth the Readers obſervation, that out of a deſire of Cavilling and the luxury the Expoſer takes in it, he has quite forgot the matter he brought in Controverſie. For the Diſpute is concerning New Creeds, Impoſed beyond clear Scripture: the Authors arguments and proofs tended wholly thither, and to that purpoſe he urged this paſſage of *Philip*, to prove that God conſiders both, but rather the Quality, then Quantity of our Faith. The Expoſer amuſes himſelf and us, to tell what *Philip* preach'd to the Treaſurer, but never minds that, let that have been as it will, and the Eunuch have believ'd all that this man can imagine, yet all the Creed demanded, and all that he profeſſes is no more then thoſe formal words, believed with all his heart. *I believe that* Jeſus Chriſt *is the Son of God*, Wherein the Author has clearly carryed, and the Expoſer thus far loſt the Queſtion. And indeed *Antiochus*, you are much too blame to have put the *Romans* to all this trouble, to no purpoſe. But any thing to ſtuffe out the Dimenſions of a Book, that no man may imagine he could have ſaid ſo little, in ſo much (which is the new way of Compendiouſneſs found out by the Expoſer) whereas he might have known, that, not God only, but even men alwayes do reſpect the Quality of any Thing, of a Book, rather then the Quantity. One Remarke I muſt make more, before I take leave of this page, how, having thus liberally inſtructed both *Philip* and the Treaſurer, he immediately chops in *p.* 5.

Now this Author may ſee what Uſe and Need
There was of the Conſtantinopolitan *Creed.*

That puts in one Baptiſme for the Remiſſion of Sins. I read it over and over, for there was ſomthing in it very ſurpriſing, beſide the elegancy of the Verſes. For the Now in that place is a word of immediate Inference, as if it appeared neceſſarily, from what laſt preceded, that he had notably foil'd the Author in ſome Arguments or other, and therefore exulted over him. To any man of common ſenſe it can ſignifie neither more nor leſs then that, (whereas I upon proſpect of this ſpoke merrily of the *Athanaſian* Creed, *Noel's* and the Aſſemblies Catechiſme, &c. wherein *Philip* inſtructed the Treaſurer) the Expoſer means in good earneſt (if men mean what they ſay) that *Philip*, having ſtudied the *Conſtantinopolitan* Creed himſelf very exactly, explain'd every Article of it thorowly to the Eunuch, and in eſpecial manner that of Baptiſme for the Remiſſion of Sins: Which happening to have been ſo many hundred years before that Council was in being, muſt needs be an extraordinary civility in *Philip*, and which he would ſcarce have done, but for the particular ſatisfaction of ſo great a perſonage, that had the whole manage of the Revenue of the Queen of *Ethiopia*. I am ſure it is more then our Church will vouchſafe in Baptiſme, either of Infants or thoſe of Riper Years, with their God-Fathers, but ſobbs

them of with the plain Apostles Creed: And truly the easier the better, if *after that*, and by *powering water upon them*, these persons be without any more adoe (*as the Priest* according to our Rubrick, *shall then say*) Regenerate.

To as little purpose doth he trouble in this same 5. *p.* Another Scripture the first of *John* 4. 2. *Every Spirit that confesses that* Jesus Christ *is come in the Flesh, is of God*: Which the Author urges in confirmation of what he said before concerning the Intention of Faith. But, saith the Exposer, *Will a* Mahumetan, *or a* Socinian *Confession of Faith suffice?* This is I trow what they call reducing a man *ad Absurdum*, and I doubt he has hamper'd the Author mischievously. No it will not suffice in the *Mahumetan* or *Socinian* interpretation: but a Confession according to the true sense of this, and the clear expres words of Scripture in other places will do it, especially if St. *John*, as most men are of opinion, writ his own Gospel. Nay, though the Exposer contends against this place, he admits another concerning *Peter*, that is not much more pregnant. *All the few primary Fundamentals of Christianity*, saith he, *were virtually contained in St.* Peters *short Confession of Faith.* Thou art *Christ* the Son of the living God: *For which Confession he was blest, and upon which Faith* Christ *declared that he would build his Church as upon a Rock.* In conclusion I see *Antiochus* has *ex mero motu & certâ Scientiâ*, and Prince — like Generosity, given us the Question: For I would not suspect that he hath hunted it so long till he lost it, or let it go of Necessity, because he could hold it no longer. For the Extention as well as Intention of *Peters* Faith, was terminated in these few words. For it is no irreverence to take notice how plain the Apostles were under that dispensation. The same *John* the Apostle and Evangelist *C.* 14. *V.* 26. and in the following Chapters, shows how little it was, and in how narrow a compass, that they knew and believed, and yet that sufficed. Insomuch that where *C.* 16. *V.* 17. Our Saviour promises the Holy Ghost, to instruct them further, he saith only, *It is Expedient for you that I go away, for if I go not away, the Comforter will not Come to you.* He saith not it is Necessary. For that Measure of true Belief would have suffieed for their own Salvation, but there was a larger Knowledge requisite for the future work of their Apostleship, In how many of them, and St. *Peter* himself as much as any, were there such *Ignorances*, I humbly use the word, in matters of Faith, that our Saviour could not but take notice of it and reprove them! As for *Peter*, when our Saviour was so near his Death as to be already betray'd, yet he, *Upon whose Faith he built his Church as on a Rock*, knew not the effect of his Passion, but was ready with his sword, against *Christs* Command and example, to have interrupted the Redemption of Mankind. And this short confession, *in which all the Fundamentalls were virtually contained* (as the Exposer here teacheth us, and so hath

hath reduced himself to that *little Grain of Faith*, against which he contends with the Author) was upon occasion of our Saviours question, when *Peter* doubtless did his best, to answer his Lord and Master, and told him all he knew. For that similitude, taken from so small a Graine by our Saviour, did equal the proportion of Faith then attainable and requisite. And as in a Seed, the very Plain and Upright of the Plant is indiscernably express'd, though it be not branch'd out to the Eye, as when it germinates, spreds, blossomes, and bears fruit; so was the Christian Faith seminally straitned in that virtual sincerity, Vital Point, and Central vigour of Believing with all the heart that *Jesus Christ* was come in the Flesh, and was the Son of the Living God. And, would men even now Believe that one thing thorowly, they would be better Christians, then under all their Creeds, they generally are both in Doctrine and Practice. But that gradual Revelation, which after his death and Resurrection shined forth in the Holy Ghost, must now determine us again within the Bounds of that saving Ignorance by Belief according to the Scriptures, untill the last and full Manifestation. And the Intention of this Faith now also, as it hath been explain'd by the Inspiration of the Holy Spirit in the Sacred Writers, is sufficient for Salvation, without the Chcianrey and Conveyancing of humane Extentions. And the Controverter himself hath, if not by his own confession, yet, by his own Argument all along hitherto proved it.

In the 6. *p*, he saith that, where the Author charges some with introducing Many and New Articles of Faith, *He hopes he does not mean all our Thirty nine Articles.* If he hopes so, why doth he raise the suspition, for which indeed there is no cause imaginable, but the Exposers own disingenuity; the Author appearing thorow his whole Book a True Subscriber to These, without that Latitude of Equivocation which some others use, or else they would not Publish those Doctrines they do, and be capable nevertheless of Ecclesiastical Places? But here, as though any man had meddled with those Articles, he explicates his Learning out of Bishop *Lany* and of the *Communio Laica*, which is but his harping upon one string and his usual *Scanning* on his fingers. For the Author having named *many and new Articles of Faith*, the Exposer revolves over in his mind *Articles*, *Articles of*— and, the word not being very pregnant, he hits at last upon *the Thirty nine Articles of the Church of* England: which yet the Exposer saith himself, *are Articles of Peace and Consent not of Faith and Communion*. Why then does he bring them by head and shoulders, when the Author he knows was only upon Articles of Faith? He might as well have said *the Lords* of the *Articles*. *But this*, he saith, *is one, as he takes it, of our Churches greatest Ecclesiastical Policyes, that she admits the many in thousands and hundred thousands, without any subscription*, ad Communionem Laicam. Truly she

is very civil, and we are an hundred thousand times oblidged to Her. But I know not whether she will take it well of him, that he, not being content with so good an Office as that of her *Exposer*, should pretend to be her *Ecclesiastical Polititian*, over an other mans head that is fitter for both, and not expect the Reversion. And she cannot but be offended, that he should thus call her Fool by craft, assigning that for *her greatest Ecclesiastical Policy*, when to have done otherwise would have been the greatest Impertence and Folly. But who are these *the many*, whom she so graciously receives *Communionem Laicam* without subscription? Truly all of us whom she trusts not *with Teaching others or with University Degrees*. The whole body of the Laity. (There again is another name or us, for we can scarse speak without affronting our selves with some contemptuous name or other that they (forsooth the Clergy) have affixed to us.

Nos Numerus sumus the many, *& fruges consumere nati.*

Even his Majesty too, God bless him, is one of the *many*, and she asks no subscription of him neither, although I believe he has *taken his Degree in the University*. Well we must be content to do as we may: we are *the many*, and you are *the few*, and make your best of it. But now, though I am none of you, yet, I can tell you a greater *Ecclesiastical Policy*, then all this you have been talking of. It is a hard Word, and though it be but one Syllable, I cannot well remember it, but by good luck it was burnt by the hand of the Hangman, about that time that *the Naked Truth* was Printed. And had that *Policy* succeeded, *the many* must have taken not only all the *Thirty Nine Articles*, but all the Ecclesiastical Errours and Incroachments that escaped notice, all in the mass at once, as if they had been Articles of Faith, infallible, unalterable; but the State of the Kingdom had been apparently changed in the very Fundamentals. For *a Few* of *the Few*, for above these forty years, have been carrying on a constant Conspiracy to turn all *Upside-down* in the Government of the Nation: But God in his mercy hath alwayes hitherto, and will; I hope, for ever frustrate all such Counsels.

In his 7. p. it is that he saith, *the Author in his 4. p. implicitly condemns the whole Catholick Church, both East and West for being so Presumptuous in her Definitions.* However if he does it but Implicitly, the Exposer might have been so Ingenuous or Prudent as not to have Explicated it further, but conceal'd it least it might do more harme, but at least not to have heighten'd it so; *the whole Catholick Church*, and not only so, but, *the whole Catholick Church both in the East and West too* (why did he not add in the North and South too?) *for being so* Presumptuous, a term far beyond and contrary to the Modesty and Deference of the Authors expressions. But this is the Art and Duty of Exposing, Here it is that he brandishes the whole dint of his Disputative Faculty, and if it be not the most

most rational, I dare say (and yet I should have some difficulty to perswade men so) that it is the most foolish passage in the whole Pamphlet. It is impossible to clear the Dispute but by transcribing their own words. In the mean time therefore I heartily recommend my self to the Readers patience. The Author, pursuing his point how unsafe and unreasonable it is to Impose New Articles of Faith drawn by humane Inferences beyond the Clear Scripture Expressions; instanceth in several of the Prime and most Necessary Principles of the Trinity, especially that of the Holy Ghost. *Are they not things*, saith he, *far above the Highest Reason and Sharpest understanding that ever man had? Yet we Believe them because God, who cannot lye, hath Declared them. Is it not then a strange thing for any man to take upon him to Declare one title more of them then God hath Declared? Seeing we understand not what is Declared, I mean we have no Comprehensive Knowledge of the Matter Declared, but only a Believing Knowledge?* To which the Exposer will have it that, if the Author be here bound up to his own words, (and 'tis good reason he should) he hath said that *we understand not that the matter is Declared*, and moreover he saith that *he is sure he has done him no wrong in fixing this meaning to the Authors words. No, it is no wrong*, it seems then, to say that to understand *That*, and to comprehend *What* is the same thing, As for example, (if our Ignorance may be allowed in things so infinitely above us, to allude to things as far below us) because I understand *That* the Exposer here speaks Nonsense; I must therefore be able to Comprehend *What* is the meaning of his Nonsense, and be capable to raise a Rational Deduction from it. I am sure I do the Exposer right in this Inference, and should be glad he only would therefore wear it for my sake, for it will fit none but him 'twas made for. But let us come down to the particular, *The Scripture*, saith the Author, *plainly tells, that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father, and That he is sent also by the Father, That he is sent also by the Son: but whether he Proceeds From the Son, or By the Son, the Scripture is silent. I grant that by Rational Deduction, and Humane way of Argument 'tis probable that the Holy Ghost Proceeds from the Son, as from the Father. But we understand not* What *the Procession or Mission of the Holy Ghost is, and therefore we cannot prove they are Both one. And therefore to determine it or any such Divine and high Mysteries by Humane Deductions, in Humane Words, to be Imposed and Believed with Divine Faith is Dangerous*: And much more the Author adds demonstratively to the same purpose,, but the Exposer culls out, by the Duty of his Place, what may best serve for his, neither will that do the turn unless he also pervert it. Here again is the *That* and the *What* the same thing? Is it the same thing to say or understand *That* the Holy Ghost is sent by the Son (which is Declared in Scripture) and to understand and comprehend *What* the Nature of that Mission is, or What the Nature of Procession that a man may

safely

ſafely ſay that he Proceeds From or By the Son, as from the Father (which is not Declared in Scripture but by Humane Deduction) and exact the Divine Belief thereof under Eternal and Temporal Penalties? *Yet this is the Expoſers Logick.* And away he goes with it, as if the world (as this inference is) were all his own, and knocks all on the head with a killing Inſtance which that I may ſtill open more viſibly to the Readers, I muſt beg pardon that I am neceſſitated to repeat over again their own Words ſometimes upon occaſion. The Expoſer ſaith, *But he means we have no Comprehenſive knowledge. His meaning is good and true but his inference is ſtark naught, if he means therefore we underſtand not at all that this or that is Declared.* But the Author neither ſays nor means any ſuch thing, and the Expoſer does him notwithſtanding his averment to the Contrary, the moſt manifeſt wrong imaginable: for as much as he would not only fix a falſe meaning upon the Authors words which I firſt mentioned in the beginning, but upon theſe other words alſo which, contrary to their plaine ſignification, he produces for proof againſt him. They are by the Expoſers own relation, *If then our Reaſon underſtand not what is Declared* (which is the very Equipollent of what the Author had ſaid, that we have no Comprehenſive knowledge of the matter Declared) *how can we by reaſon make any Deduction by way of Argument from that which we underſtand not?* No more. From whence it is evident from that virtual repetition and natural reflection that every Concluſion hath of and upon its Premiſſes, that the full ſenſe of the words muſt be — *from that which we underſtand not, Comprehenſive,* And yet he ſaith that he does him no wrong, he is ſure he does not in affixing this meaning unto thoſe words. And proceeds, *Is it even ſo? Then let us put the Caſe with reverence that Almighty God, who aſſuming I ſuppoſe, the ſhape of an Angel, treated with* Abraham *face to face, as a man doth with his Friend. Should for once have ſpoken in the ſame manner, to* Arrius or Socinus, *and made this one Declaration, that the Catholick Churches Doctrine of the Trinity was true, and his falſe: then I demand, would not this have been demonſtration enough of the Faith which we call Catholick either to* Socinus *or* Arrius? *And yet all theſe contradictory Arguments which either of them had once fancied ſo inſolable, ſuppoſing them not anſwered in particular, would remain againſt it, and ſtand as they did before, any ſuch declaration, and yet all this without giving him any comprehenſive knowledge.* This inſtance is made in Confutation of his own falſe ſuppoſition that the Authors words, *if then our reaſon underſtand not with comprehenſive knowledge what is declared, how can we then make any deduction by way of Arguments from that which we underſtand not,* did in their true meaning ſignifie how can we by reaſon make any deduction by way of Argument, from that which *we underſtand not to have been declared,* or, that I may put it the furtheſt I can imaginable,

to

to the Expoſers purpoſe or ſervice, *how can we by reaſon underſtand that it is declared*, which is to impoſe a moſt ridiculous and impoſſible ſenſe upon the Authors plain words; for if we neither underſtand *That* nor *What*, there is an end of all underſtanding. Yet admitting, here, ſayes the Expoſer, I have ſtated you a Caſe which proves the contrary, for here *Arrius* or *Socinus* have *no comprehenſive knowledge of what is declared*, and *yet they underſtand that it is declared*: and doubtleſs the Author would ſay ſo too, without ever meaning the Contrary: yea and that this revelation would have been *demonſtration enough of that Faith, which we call Catholick*. But what would become of *their former Contradictory Arguments* which the Expoſer ſaith, *would ſtand as they did before*, and *remain againſt it*. I cannot vouch for the Author, that he would be of the ſame opinion. For I cannot comprehend though God had not anſwered thoſe Arguments of theirs, in particular as the Expoſer puts it, that thoſe Arguments would or could remaine againſt it, and ſtand as they did before any ſuch declaration, to *Arrius* and *Socinus* after they had received a ſufficient demonſtration from Gods own mouth by New Revelation. They would indeed remain againſt it, and ſtand as they did before to Mr. *Sherlocke*. But when I have thus given the humorous Expoſer his own will and ſwing in every thing, yet this ſuperlunary inſtance does not ſerve in the leaſt to confirme his Argument that he makes againſt the Authors words, after his transforming them: For here *Arrius* and *Socinus* only bring their ſenſe of hearing, and having heard this from God, do not *by Reaſon* make any *Deduction by way of Argument*, but by a believing knowledge do only aſſent to this, ſecond further Revelation: Nor can they then from this ſecond Revelation make any third ſtep of Argument to extend it beyond its own tenour, without incurring the Authors juſt & wiſe Argument again, that *ſeeing our reaſon underſtands not what is declared, I mean we have no comprehenſive knowledge of this Doctrine of Trinity*. (which the Expoſer ſuppoſes to be declared) *how can we by reaſon make any deduction by way of Argument from that which we underſtand not*, to wit, *not comprehenſively*? As I have abundantly cleared. But this inſtance was at firſt extingniſhed, when I ſhewed in the beginning that he did impertinently tradnce the Authors words, and forge his meaning.

In the mean time, though he ſaith *put the Caſe with Reverence*, when the Caſe ſo put cannot admit it, I cannot but at laſt reflect, upon the Expoſers unpardonable indiſcretion, in this more then abſurd and monſtruous repreſentation of God almighty, aſſuming the ſhape of an Angel as he ſaith he treated with *Abraham* face to face as a man doth with his friend, to Diſcourſe with *Arrius* and *Socinus*. Theſe are ſmall eſcapes with which he aptly introduces ſuch an interview and conference, *that he treated our* 4th. Abraham *face to face, as a man doth with his friend*:

for

for it is true *Abraham* is Stiled the friend of God, and that God ſpoke to him; but it is never ſaid in Scripture that God did *Treat*, that is a word of Court, not of Scripture: No nor that *God ſpoke to him face to face*. But it is ſaid in Sripture only of *Moſes*, *Exod.* 33. 11. *The Lord ſpoke to him face to face as a man ſpeaketh unto his friend.* But that was a priviledge peculiar to *Moſes*. *Numbers* 12. 5. *And the Lord came down in a Pillar of Cloud, and ſtood in the door of the Tabernacle of the Congregation, and called* Aaron *and* Miriam, *and they both came forth, and he ſaid, hear now my words if there be a Prophet among you, I the Lord will make my ſelf known to him in a Viſion, and will ſpeak unto him in a Dream: my ſervant* Moſes *is not ſo who is faithful in all my houſe, with him will I ſpeak mouth to mouth, even apparently and not in darke Speeches, and the ſimilitude of the Lord ſhall he behold, wherefore then were not you afraid to ſpeak againſt my Servant* Moſes? (the Expoſer is not afraid to do him manifeſt injury.) for *Deut.* 34. 10. *And there aroſe not in* Iſrael *a Prophet like unto* Moſes, *whom the Lord knew face to face*, &c. And much more might be ſaid of this matter, were the man capable of it: But I perceive he neither reads nor underſtands Scripture, and one *Divine Criticiſm* is ſtock enough it ſeems to ſet up an Expoſer. Neither is it ſo notorious an errour that he ſaith God aſſumed the ſhape of an Angel to treat with him. I would be glad to know of the Expoſer, ſeeing he is ſo Cherubick, what is the ſhape of an Angel? Some humane Criticks have told me that it was the ſimilitude of a Calfe. But Gods appearing in a ſha e to *Abraham*, when he treated with him face to face was in the ſhape of a man. *Gen.* 18 1. *The Lord appeared to him in the Plane of* Mamre *as he ſate in the Tent door, and ſo three men ſtood by him*, &c. Theſe are eaſie ſlips and he that ſtumbles and falls not, gains a ſtep. Yet for one as he mocks the Author p. 2. *That appears as one drop'd down from Heaven, vouching himſelf a Son of the Church of* England, *teaching as one having authority like a Father*, to trip in this manner, is ſomething indecent. But to bring God in to ſo little a purpoſe, contrary to all rules, that I have ſeen one with a better grace brought down by a Machine to treat with *Arrius* and *Socinus*, no other Company, thoſe who have contended againſt the Son of God and his Holy Spirit, whoſe Opinions have been the Peſt of the Clergy for ſo many Ages, to have them now at laſt brought in as Privado's to the Myſteries of Heaven, and the Trinity; what Divine in his Witts but would rather have loſt an Argument! What will the Gentleman I laſt named ſay, to ſee ſuch a reconciliation, to behold *Arrius* and *Socinus* in ſo cloſe *Communion with God*, as to be admitted even to ſingle Revelation: He cannot then avoid thinking, what he lately printed, and now with more reaſon: *That God is all Love and Patience when he has taken his fill of Revenge, as others uſe to ſay the Devil is good when he is pleaſed.* What a ſhame is it to have men like the Expoſer, who are

dedicated to the ſervice of the Church, and who ought as in the place quoted by the Author in the preſent Argument, they of all other to hold faſt the form of ſound Words, thus by their raſh levity adminiſter ſo much occaſion upon the moſt revered ſubject, that one can ſcarce anſwer them in their own dialect without ſeeming though never ſo averſe to border upon their Profaneneſs. But thoſe are the Divines in Mode, who being by their Dignities and Preferments plump'd up beyond humane proportion, do whether for their Pride or Ignorance, neither underſtand to ſpeak of God, which ought to be their ſtudy, with any tolerable *Decorum*; Theſe are the great Animadverters of the times, the Church-reſpondents in the Pew, Men that ſeem to be members only of *Chelſey* Colledge, nothing but broken Windows, bare Walls, and rotten Timber. They with a few Villanous words, and a ſeared Reaſon, are the only Anſwerers of good and ſerious Books: But then they think a Book to be ſure fully anſwered, when as the Expoſer has by *an humane Criticiſme*, they write or ſcribble the ſame number of pages. For the Authors Book of the *Naked Truth*, chancing to be of ſixty ſix pages, the Expoſer has not bated him an Ace, but payed him exactly, though not in as good Billet, yet in as many Notches. This being done, then the Expoſer ubiquits himſelf, peeping at the Key-holes, or picking the Locks of the Bed-chambers of all the great *Miniſters*, and though they be reading Papers of State, or at the Stool, more ſeaſonably obtrudes his Pamphlet. Next he ſends it by an expreſs to his friends at the Univerſities, but eſpecially to his own Colledge, and can ſcarce refrain from recommending it to the Tutors to inſtruct their Pupills, reading it to them in lieu of their Lectures. But they are lay'd in for proviſion by the Manciple and Butler, and that Quarter few eſcape without being ſconc'd for an Animadverſion. The Country Cathedralls learn it lateſt, and arrive by ſlower degrees to their underſtanding, by the Carrier. It grows a buſineſs of Chapter, and they admire it in body as a profound Book of Theology. Thoſe of 'em that can confide in one another, diſcourſe it over in private, and then 'tis odds, but, before the Laity get notice of it, they firſt hear it preach'd over by him whoſe turn it is next Sunday in the Minſter, the reſt conceal the Fraud for the reputation of the Dioceſs. After the Book is grown common the plagiary wonders how, but that proportionable Wits jump together, the Expoſer could hit ſo right upon his Motions. But if the Dean foreſee that 'tis a very vendible Book, he you may imagine foreſtalls the Market, and ſends up for a whole Dicker of 'em to retaile at his laſt advantage. All this while the little Emiſſaryes here in town are not idle, but hawk about from *London* to *Weſtminſter* with their Britches ſtuft with the Copyes, and will ſell them to any one for Commendation. Nor do the grudge

this drudgery out of the hope and vision that they themselves also may, at some happy hour or other, be received into the band of Answerers, and merit the same Applause and advancement. But if they found it so hard a task as I do this, sure they would be better advised. 'Tis a great paine to answer, even an Animadverter; they are much happyer of the two, 'tis better by far Preaching, and a Sermon is soon curryed over. Yet sometimes it happens the Printing of a Sermon is toilsome afterwards and hazardous: for even one that was preached before His Majesty, and by his special command to be Printed, is it seems making over again, there having been sure some error in the *Fonte*, and has lay'd several months in disobedience. But when it shall come out new vamp'd and refitted, it will be a question worthy the Schooles, whether it be the same Sermon, and whether he has not prevaricated against his Majesties special Command, and *Sinn'd on*, by Printing without a Licence. Yet I rather expect that after all, it will incurre the same fate with that memorable Sermon preached before the House of Commons, at their receiving the Sacrament upon the first opening of the Parliament: Which for some dangerous opinions there vented, was so far from ever coming forth, that one might sooner have obtain'd His Majesties special Command against ever Printing it. But to return to the Exposer, who by this impertinence has forced an occasion upon me to reflect on some *Few* who are guilty of the same, and may thank him for the favour. May not, with more reason p. 1. then he saith it of the Author, *the Church justly complaine of him for thrusting out such crude indigested matter, without communicating these conceptions of his to some that would have shewed him the weak and blind sides of them*? I profess after those passages of his that I have already taken notice of, and this egregious one the last, wherein by so few lines he hath so amply molested the Judicious Reader, I do not think I ow him the patience to consider what remains with the same exactness, every thing that he adds henceforward growing methodically slighter and worse as it hastens to, the Center of Levity, the Conclusion of his Pamphlet. Yet something I will reply all along, with more justice then he practises toward the Author, for whereas he picks out here and there what he thinks tendereſt in him to tire upon, and render it by his affected misrepresentation obnoxious, but shuts his eyes as not being able to indure the resplendence of those evident Truths which he delivers with great demonstration; I shall in the Exposer only observe and deal with what seems the least impertinent. Only I may not perhaps think him worth the transcribing so punctually as I have done hiterto, but for brevity more often refer to his own pages.

Therefore be pleased to look on his *p.* 7. where, relating to what the Author had said *p.* 4. of the Procession of the Holy Ghost, wherein the

Greek

Greek Creed and ours differ, he muffles it all up with ſaying that *yet this breaks not Communion between us, the difference ariſing only from the* Inadequation of Languages. Which is a Mathematical and more Civil way, either of owning his Ignorance in ſo weighty a point, or confeſſing that he cannot anſwer what the Author hath ſaid upon it. If by reaſon of the *Inadequation of Languages* a myſtery ſo inexplicable could not be expreſſed why did either our Church or theirs meddle in it beyond the Scripture? There is no *Inadequation between the Languages*, in ſpeaking of it, *Dia* and *Apo* a *Patre Filioque*, and *a Patre per Filium*: *From the Father and Son*, or *From the Father By the Son*: *Proceeding* or *Sending*: But no language can reach the nature of Profeſſion or Miſſion, nor to repreſent to humane underſtanding how they can both be the ſame, or wherein they may differ. He does in this as the *Arrian* Biſhops in their ſubſcription of the *Nicene* Creed to *Jovianus* Socr. l. 3. c. 21. which now they ſaid they could do with a good Conſcience, underſtanding *neque vocabulum ſubſtantiæ apud ſanctos Patres ad conſuetudinem Græci Sermonis capi.* 'Tis an happy thing I ſee to find our Church in good humour, elſe ſhe might have made more adoe about an Article of Faith, as ſhe does about much leſſer matters. 'Tis not ſtrange that the Expoſer finds no greater difference or diſtinction between terms ſo diſtant, ſeeing in the laſt Paragraph above, he was ſo dull that he underſtood not *What* is *What*. But he moſt aptly concludes how Demoſthenes *once anſwered the Orator* Æſchines, *who kept much adoe about an improper word. The Fortunes of* Greece *do not depend upon it.* So trivial a thing it ſeems does the Expoſer reckon it, to have improper words obtruded upon Chriſtians in a Creed, without believing of which no man can be ſaved, and whereupon the Eaſtern and Weſtern Churches divided with ſo much concernment. But how proper and ingenious a contrivance was it of the Author (who is the very Cannon of Concinnity) to bring in *Demoſthenes* and *Æſchines*, as being doubtleſs both of the *Greek* Church, to decide the matter in Controverſy of the Proceſſion or Miſſion of the Holy Ghoſt between them and the Weſt. *Antiochus*, whenſoever you take the Pew again, be ſure you forget not *Demoſthenes* and *Æſchines*: For it will be to you as good as current Money, which anſwers all things. The Expoſer, though here ſo gentle, yet, in the very page before this was as dogged, to as good men as the *Greeks* ſome of them, the Papiſts, Lutherans, and Calviniſts. *The Author*, he ſayes, *may make as bold with them as he pleaſes, for we are none of theſe, I am not bound to make War in their vindication.* But if he ſhould once *Kyrie Elieſon*, what would become of us? Good Mother Church of *England* maintaine this humor thorow, carrey it on, but above all things make much of this thy Expoſer; give him any thing, think nothing too good for him, Happy the Church that hath, and miſerable that wants ſuch a Champion!

But I must find some more expeditious way of dealing with him, and walk faster, for really I get cold. The force of all that he saith in the 8, and 9. pages, is to represent the Author ridiculously and odiously, as if upon his wishing that *Constantine* had commanded both parties *Homoousian*, and *Homoiousian* to acquiece in the very Scripture Expressions, without any addition, whereby he is confident the *Arrian* Heresie had soon expired, he did by consequence cut *Poe-dike* to let in a Flood of Heresies, upon the Fenns of Christianity. But the words with which he cuts the Author down, are *Why, this was the designe of the* Arrians *themselves, that which they drove at Court, that silence might be imposed on both Parties.* Well, and 'twas very honestly done of them, and modestly, and like Christians, if the Controversie arose, as men think, about the Imposing of a Creed, or Article concerning a Question so fine, in Words so Gross, which yet a man must Believe that without Believing it, *no man can be Saved*; though no humane understanding can comprehend the subject of the Question, nor the Scripture Expressions, as they conceived, did reach it. There is field enough for Faith in the Scriptures, without laying out more to it; and to resigne their Reason to be silenced in a Question, stirred up by others, that Peace might be established in the Church, was Ingenuity in them: and the contrary proceeding of the Church, was the occasion of many other Heresies that else had never been heard of. But the Exposer had said something, if he could have divined that they would have used this silencing the disputes by *Constantine* as the *Arminians* (so they were at that time called) did the same in the Reigne of his late Majesty, who procuring a command from him to prohibite all writing or preaching about those points, having thereby gagged their Adversaries, did let the Press and the Pulpit loose more then ever to propagate their own Doctrines. That which the Exposer drops in the ardour of this Argument. *p.* 9. *How many terms in the* Athanasian *Creed, which to seek for in the Apostles Creed, or in the whole Bible, were to as much purpose as it was for the old affected* Ciceronian *in* Erasmus, *to labour and toile his Brains to turn that Creed into* Ciceronian *Latine. Yet these are the terms in which the Catholick Church thought she spoke safely in these Divine matters; is. totidem verbis*, either to beg the Question, or make a formal resignation of it. And our Church (howsoever else he may have obliged her) has reason to resent this indiscretion. Why was she her self so indiscreet to admit such a Blab into her secrecies? How if no man else ought to have known it? It is an ill matter to put such things in mens minds, who otherwise perhaps would never have thought of it. 'Tis enough to turn a mans stomach that is not in strong health, not only against the *Athanasian* Creed, but against all others for its sake. He saith *p.* 8. Scoffingly that the Author is one of those whom St. *Paul* forbids *to be admitted to*

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any doubtful disputations: But let the Exposer see whether it be not himself rather that is there spoken of. And withall that he may make some more proper use of the place, which he warily cites not, I recommend it to him in order to his dispute about future Ceremonies: 'Tis the 14. *Rom. v.* 7. Where St. *Paul* calls them that contend for him the Weak Brother, *Weak in the Faith*; and such therefore the Apostle excludes from doubtful Disputations, so that one gone so far in Ceremony as the Exposer, had no License from him to Print Animadversions.

As to what he patches in *p.* 10. upon the matter of School-Divinity, as if the Author poured contempt upon the Fathers; I referre it to the Animadversions on the Chapter about preaching, and should I forget, I desire him to put me in mind of it. And *p.* 11. and 12. where the Author having in his 2. and 3. *p.* said that, *None can force another to believe, no more then to read where the Candle does not give good light*, and more very significantly to that purpose; the Exposer flying giddily about it, burns his wings with the very similitude of a Candle. Sure if a man went out by night on Trunkfishing, or Bat-fowling, or Proctoring, he might catch these Exposers by Dozens. But the force of his Argument is *p.* 13. Whereas the Author says, you can force no mans sight, nor his Faith. he replyes, *If it be not in any mans truth to Discerne Fundamental Truths, (of which this Chapter treats) when they are laid before his Eyes when there is a sufficient proposal, then it is none of his fault.* Yet this is as weak as water: For, supposing a Fundamental Truth clearly demonstrated from Scripture, though a man cannot force himself to believe it, yet there is enough to render a man inexcusable to God. *God hath not been wanting* (one of the Exposers scraps) *in necessaries*: but I hope he will not compel God too, but that he may dispense his saving and efficatious influence (without which all that sufficient Proposal he speaks of will have been insufficient,) only to the minds of whom he pleases. The Animadverter in defending that a man can force himself to believe, argues against Experimental Demonstration (try it in any man, in every man) but raises only a maligne ignorant and Caviling dispute, herein to reduce the Author to *the Dreggs*, forsooth, of *Mr.* Hobb's his *Divinity*, i. e. *It is not in the man's fault saith he, if he cannot believe after a sufficient Proposal*, He saith, *he is sure*, too it is not then the man's fault (so in the Dispute lately about *That* and *What*, he said, *he was sure he did the Author no wrong*) But I desire him first to read *Romans* 3. the 4, 5, 6. verses, with the Context: But especially *Romans* 9 from the 13. to the 22. verse, where the Apostle introduces a man objecting in the same words to the same purpose, *Thou wilt say unto me why doth God yet find fault*, &c. And if the Exposer will not take the Apostles Answer, but *be sure* of the contrary, then he too cannot, it seems *force himself to believe*

lieve after what he ought to have allowed for a *ſufficient Propoſal*. But where the Author ſuppoſes that any man does clearly or ſufficiently demonſtrate a Fundamental Truth from Scripture: yet unleſs a mans Brains be clear it is to him no demonſtration. You ſuppoſe that all of you do clearly demonſtrate, ſo that if they don't Believe you may juſtly open their Eyes with a paire of Pincers. Whereas there are ſome *Few* among the *Few*, ſuch *Spermologers*, that unleſs a grain of Faith fall down, by the by, from Heaven your ſeed is Barren. I do not reckon much upon a Church Hiſtorical deviliſh beliefe. Unleſs a thing be in the Expreſs words of Scripture, there are ſome of the Laity to whom a Counſel cannot demonſtrate clearly, a Preacher cannot demonſtrate, ſneezing Powder cannot demonſtrate, no Earthly can do it. Chriſt uſed Clay indeed, but it was his Spittle that gave the healing quality, and cured the Blind man. Alas you are ſo wiſe in your own conceit, that you cannot conceive how ſimple ſome poor men are. He ſaith, *the Reaſon which helps every man to ſee theſe Fundamental Truths, at leaſt when they are ſhew'd and pointed out to him* (ſuch Truths you muſt conceive as the Creed Doctrines of the Trinity) *is a vulgar and popular thing* (what need then ſo many Diſputes in the Councills? *and ſure the Author, that he may not admit any mans hypocriſie and wilfulneſs to be groſs and palpable, imagins there are a world of Idiots.* So the expoſer would now cokes the Lay-multitude, whom before he call'd *the hundred thouſands*, and *the many*, and for their ſimplicity *excuſable from ſubſcribing* the 39. *Articles*, to be grown on the ſuddain ſo very wiſe men, that he may with juſtice therefore compel them by corporal puniſhments or penalties to believe in ſpight of their Teeth or their underſtandings. Alas if any men conſider thoſe Fundamental Truths, ſo ſubject he ſaith to vulgar and popular reaſon, it is one of the difficulteſt things in the world, and yet more to thoſe who are moſt removed from being Idiots to believe them; and ſome men by their clear Demonſtrations, by their ſufficient Propoſals, by their Creeds have rendered it ſtill more difficult. Why have I waſted all this on the Expoſer who, (whether it be his fault or no) yet cannot force himſelf to Believe even *the Naked Truth*, though ſo clearly demonſtrated from Scripture (and the Expoſer I ſuppoſe believes the Scripture) though ſo Conſonant and obvious to the moſt vulgar and popular reaſon, but Believes his own Animadverſions, againſt the moſt vulgar and popular Reaſon, to be a ſufficient Propoſal to the Contrary? In the 13 and 14. *p.* ſpeaking of that place *Gal.* 5. 12. which the Author underſtands of the Magiſtrates Power, but the Expoſer will have to be Excommunication; I crave leave to diſſent from both of them, humbly conceiving that the Word there of *Cutting off* is rather meant in the uſual ſenſe of Scripture in a multitude of places, for Gods taking them of by his hand. But whatſoever it be, I deſire the Expoſer for his own ſake to take good

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heed that, whether it be Executing, or Punishing, or Banishing, or Excommunicating, or taking them away by Gods hand of Justice, the Apostle speaks of such as taught for Circumcision, and alluding to the word wishes that they were rather *cut off*, who trouble the *Galatians* about the retaining of that, and who would oblidge them contrary to *their Christian Liberty* to such *Jewish* Ceremonies.

For what he hales in of the great and notable effect *p.* 14. of conferences, wishing that there were such held publickly or privately to satisfie the Non-conformists; truly though they be no great men; yet perhaps it were fit they were first satisfied what kind of Reception they should meet with. But I doubt such Conferences in Publick are but the Resemblance and Epitome of General Councils. For that of the *Savoy* in which he instances it might almost as well have heen in *Piemont*. A man disinteressed either way, might make a pleasant story of the *Anecdota* of that Meeting, and manifest how well his Majesties Gracious Declaration, before his return, and his Broad-Seal, afterwards were pursued. But it is not my present business. But for shortness sake, as to his desire *That he that does not believe the notable effect of them would but read what my Lord Bishop of* Winchester *printed of that Conference, where the Adverse Party was driven immediatly to assert that whatsoever may be the occasion of sin to any must be taken away*: I shall as civilly as I can, though I deferre much to his extraordinary veracity, tell the Exposer I do not believe him.

I come now to what he *p.* 14, 15, 16, 17. and in other places declares to be his Judgement, as to Compulsion in matter of Faith and Religion. The Authors opinion appears in the beginning, where I stated his own words thorow this Chapter. The expose does beat the aire. *p.* 14. concerning the *Donatists*, a must seditious and turbulent sect, *who* saith the Author (as it is objected by those that would have Force used) *some of them came to St.* Augustine *and gave thanks, that the Civil Power was made use of to restraine them, confessing that was the means that brought them to consider more calmly their own former extravagant opinions, and so brought them home to the true Church.* But he quarrels the Author for his four answers, against the Magistrates using that as a Precedent. The first, *our Case is not in repressing seditious Practises, but inforcing a Confession of Faith.* I will return straight to the Exposers Answer to this. The Authors second is; *unless it can be evidenced that their hearts were changed as well as their Profession (a thing impossible to prove) all this proves nothing.* Neither does it. For the dispute now betwixt the Author and his Adversary is, whether it be possible to compel a man to believe. This instance proves only that those *Donatists* were forced to come to Church. Therefore there cannot be a more uncharitable and disingenuous thing invented, then for the Exposer to upbraid him with such a retort, *for ought he knows they were Hypocrites*: (the Author does say so) *so for*

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ought we to know this Author is all this while a Jeſuite, *and writes this Pamphlet only to imbroile us* Proteſtants. But he muſt make ſome ſputter rather then be held to the terms of the Queſtion: and truly I perceive *Antiochus* is very weary and ſhifts like a Crane (not to inſtance in a worſe Bird) firſt one foot and then another to reſt on, being tired to ſtand ſo long within ſo cloſe a Circle. For thirdly the Author anſwers, *Put the caſe their hearts were really changed, as to matter of Belief, 'tis evident their hearts were very worldly ſtill, grovelling on earth not one ſtep nearer Heaven*: He will not be candid without Compulſion, but leaves out what follows; *and ſure their heart was evil, which was far more moved for the quiet enjoyment of this worlds good, then for the bleſſed enjoyment of* Chriſt. In earneſt I begin to think an Expoſer is a Rational Creature. For had he not on purpoſe left theſe laſt words out, he could not have cryed, *A horrible charitable ſaying! We may forgive the Author any thing after this*; which is all the Anſwer he gives: ſo charitable is the Expoſer grown to the *Donatiſts*, for every man that will come to Church is *ipſo facto* with him, a true Believer. But it did in truth appear to have been ſo, and there is not the leaſt uncharitableneſs in this that the Author has ſaid; For by thoſe *Donatiſts* own confeſſion, it was not any love to that which they now owned for the Truth to St. *Auſtin*, not any Conviction of Conſcience, not ſo much as even an inclination to obey the Magiſtrate; but meer fine force and fear of Puniſhment that brought them to Church, and whatſoever good came on't was by accident. Whether might not a man adde that their giving thanks for that force, and ſo owning that Principle of Compulſion, was a further evidence that their heart was naught ſtill, even while they were with St. *Auguſtine*? I think a man might, untill I be better informed. But the Author having given a fourth anſwer, that, *ſuppoſe they were now really brought over to the Truth* of the Church of Belief, and Religion by the Magiſtrates ſeverity, (I expreſs it thus that I may with the Expoſer trifle about the *Jews* care) yet St. *Paul* hath ſaid, *God forbid we ſhould do evil that good may come of it*? This is anſwer enough for a man of underſtanding. For it is not lawful, ſuppoſe for St. *Auſtin* himſelf, to beguile any man even into Chriſtianity: unleſs as St. *Paul* perhaps, 2 *Cor.* 12. 16. *Being crafty, caught the* Corinthians *with guile*, by preaching the *Goſpel without being Burthenſome to the People*. No man ought to cheat another though to the true beliefe: Not by Interlining the Scripture. Not by falſe Quotation of Scripture, or of a Father. Not by forging a Heathen Prophecy, or altering an Author. Not by falſe Syllogiſme: Not by telling a lye for God. And if no *Pety Fraud* much leſs can a *Pia Vis* be allowed, to compell them to Faith, to compell them to a Creed, ſeeing it *were to do evil that good may come of it*: much leſs to a Creed not perfectly Scriptural, and, inſtead of being inforced, indeed weakned by

by compulsion, seeing it is impossible to compel a man to believe, and some Divines teach us to believe (though I suspend,) that even God himself cannot, or doth not Compel men to Believing. But now it falls in naturally to me to be as good as my word, to consider what the Exposer replyes to the Author's first answer concerinig the *Donatists*, that *our Case is of inforcing a Confession of Faith, not concerning seditious Practises, of which the* Donatists *were notoriously guilty, in which Case he had shown before, that the Civil Magistrate may proceed to Punishment.* Wherein the Author reasons with his usual justness, and I though a very slender accession, cannot but come into him. For St. *Paul*, in the 13. Chapter of the *Romans*, laying out the Boundaries of the Duty of Christian subjects and the Magistrates Power, saith, *Rulers are not* (ought not to be) *a terrour to good works, but to evil*, and so forward: but to the Christian people he saith, *they must be subject not only for wrath* as those *Donatists* were afterwards, *but for Conscience sake.* And the subjection he defines is in doing good, walking uprightly, keeping the Moral Law, Fearing, Honouring, and Paying Tribute to the Magistrate. But not one word saith the Apostle of forbearing to Preach out, of that Obedience; saying in another place *Necessity is laid upon one and woe is unto me if I preach not the Gospel*: (and that supposes too meeting) and as little of Compelling to hear. For in those times and a great while after, there was no inforcing to Christianity. It was very long before that came in fashion: And, writing on the suddain, I do not well remember whether it did ever before the dayes of *Piçarro* and *Almagro*, the Apostles of the *Indians*, yet upon recollection it was sooner. But what saith the Exposer to this of the *Donatists*, whom the Author allows only to have been punishable only for seditious Practises, having before declared that *for such as only refuse to conforme to the Churches established Doctrine and Discipline* (*pardon him if he say*) *really he cannot find any warrant or so much as any hint from the Gospel to use any Force to compel them: and from Reason sure there is no motive to use force, because as he shewed before, Force can't make a man believe your Doctrine, but only as an Hypocrite, Profess what he believes not.* I expect that the Exposer, in this place above all other, which I guess was his greatest motive to this Imployment, should ply and overlay him now with Reason, but especially with Scripture, let us hear how he answers. *I say only this p.* 5. (for he speaks now of our Non-Conformists) *the very Act against them calls them* Seditious Conventicles, *and openly to break so many known Laws of the Land, after so many reinforcements, is not this to be turbulent?* This now you must understand to be Reason, and not Scripture: That I suppose as the strongest is reserved for the Rear. Truly, (as far as a man can comprehend by comparing that with other Acts of this Parliament,) they did only appoint that the Penalty of Sedition should ly against those that frequent such Meetings: as in the Act against *Irish* Catel, if it be not in it self a Nuisance no Law-givers can make it so. Nor can any Legislators

make that to be *Sedition* which is not *Sedition* in its own nature. So Prohibitions of that kind operate no more as to the intrinseque Quality, then a publick Allowance of taking away any honest mens Goods by violence and giving it another name, would extinguish the Robbery. It was the King and Parliaments prudence to make such Laws, and as long as they shall continue of that mind, it is reason the Non-Conformists should lye under the Penalty, which I humbly conceive is all that could be intended, But the Exposer rivets this with Reason again, not Gospel. *And was it not ever understood so in all Religions; even in Heathen* Rome? *The most learned* P. Ærodius *tells us* (Does he so? What is it I beseech you) *that the* Roman *Senate* (the Exposer quotes it at large as a story of great use and not to be hudled over; I must be glad to contract it) *made an Act against the Conventicles of certaine Innovators in their Religion; if any particular person judged such a sacrifice to be necessary, he must repair first to the Prætor, he to the Senate, where the* Quorum *must be an hundred, and they must not neither give him leave if at all to have above five persons present at the Meeting. The self same number, beside the Dissenters own Family, is so far forth indur'd by an Act of this present Parliament, that there must be more then Five to make it a Conventicle.* This is a very subtile Remarke that he has made, as if it were one of those Witty accidents of Fortune, or an extraordinary hand of Providence, that the Senate of *Rome* and the Parliament of *England* should hit so pat, upon an Act of the same nature: And upon that number of Five. However they are oblidg'd to him, and he deserves the publick Thanks for furnishing them, so long after, with a Precedent. I confess I alwayes wonder'd they would allow them so many as Five, for fear when, not two or three, but Five of'em were gathered together *God should hear their request*: and it seem'd therefore to me a Formidable Number. But where has the Example been hid so long? I believe the Exposers study has laid much this way. But this was so deep an *Arcanum* that was fit for none but an Arch-Bishops Close. I wish he have come honestly by it. But Murder I see and Theft will out, and so this comes to light by a blabbing Animadverter, that cannot keep counsel, but will violate the Ecclesiastical secret rather then lose the Leachery of his Tattle and the vain-glory of his Pedantry. I could be glad to know what complexion this Exposer is of. I am perswaded, whatsoever he may be now, he was once extreme faire: for I remember since I was at School: that the learned *P. Ovidius* told me, that the Crow was once a white Bird, and much in *Apollo's* favour till for telling of Tales,

Sperantem non falsæ præmia linguæ,
Inter aves albas vetuit consistere Corvum.

And of another, the faireſt thing that ever eyes were laid on, but for carrying of Storyes, was turn'd into a Jackdaw, and grew as black as a Crow, Filching, and Kaw me and Ile Kaw thee, ever after.

And that which sure must make him more black, more a Jack-daw, and like it, worthy to be expelled from the guard, and from the protection

—*Ponatur post Noctis avem,*

is, that he does with open mouth proclaim the Naked design of all the *Few* that are of his Party. *p.* 12. *The* Jews *in* Rome *are constrained once a week to hear a Christian Sermon.* The same *p.* 12. *We that would oblidge him to open his Eyes whether he will or no. p.* 14. *I can only wish for the present, that by forcing them into our Churches, they may hear our defences,* p. 17. *I speak nothing more against them then that they may be brought to our Churches,* &c. All this as the last result and greatest condescension of his Ecclesiastical Clemency. In conclusion he declares he would have them forced: and for what manner of force, violence, punishment or penalty he leaves it all open, go as high as men will. These things still are not Scripture neither, but Reason. His first was an Heathenish Reason in one sense, and this a *Jewish* in another. For I confess it is a very pregnant and *adequate* example, and of great authority for us to imitate; that *the* Jews *in* Rome *are constrained once a week to hear a Christian Sermon.* What could there be more proportionable, then to resemble the proceeding with Christians among themselves here in *England*, not differing in any point of Faith, with the proceeding at *Rome* against the *Jews*? But that the Exposer should *implicitly* liken and compare our Bishops to the Pope, may perhaps not be taken well by either Party. So that I dare say, had he consulted with his usual Prudence, he would not have disoblidged both sides at once. But for the Precedent, I have nothing to oppose to this more then the first, it being *doubtless of notable effect*, as notable as that of the *Piemont* conference. Only out of the affection I have for him, I would wish him to correct here one slip, if I be rightly informed; for some that have been abroad say his Intelligence from *Rome* has failed him, for that it is not once a week, but once a year that the *Jews* at *Rome* are, oblidged, forced, to hear a Christian Sermon. And therefore, when the *Parliamentum Indoctum* sits again, I would advise him not to make his Act too severe here upon this mistake, then it is against those *Judaick* Non-Conformists at *Rome*.

But the next Reason would be so extraordinary troublesome to the *Few*, that are of the Exposers party and to himself, that, if he had thorowly consider'd it, I question whether he would have been so charitable to the Fanaticks, that he would oblige them *to open their Eyes whether they will or no.* For it would require two of the Church of *England* to every Non-conformist, unless 'twere here and there one that had lost an Eye in the Service. Less would not do the business decently, and those two also must be well in order, to open the Non-conformists Eyes both at once, lest one Eye should be of one and the other Eye of a contrary opinion. And then they should in humanity, give them some interval for winking. Else they had as good cut off their Eye-lids, as the Episcopal *Carthaginians* used the Presbyterian *Regulus*, for keeping in the true sense to his Covenant. But on the other side, it would look too big for a Company of beggarly Fanaticks, to be waited upon in as much Majesty as *Obeshankanogh* the King of *Virginia*, that had two Squires of the Body in constant attendance, to lift up his Eye-lids

as oft as he conceiv'd any man worthy to be look'd upon. But let the Expoſer order it as he pleaſes, *I am not bound to* be any of his Sight-ſupporters. Onely this, it would be very improper for him to chuſe any one that is blind to that employment. For his ſeveral times repeated wiſh, *that they might be forced to come to Church to give them a fair hearing, and to hear their diſcourſes*: truly I believe they know the Lion by the Claw, there is a great part of Oratory conſiſts in the choice of the Perſon that is to perſwade men. And a great Skill of whatſoever Orator is, to perſwade the Auditory firſt that he himſelf is an honeſt and a fair man. And then he is like to make the more impreſſion on them too, if he be ſo prudent as to chuſe an acceptable ſubject to ſpeak on, and manage it decently, with fit arguments and good language. None but the very rabble love to hear any thing ſcurrilous or railing; eſpecially if they ſhould hear themſelves rail'd on by him, they would be ready to give him the due applauſe of *Petronius* his Orator, with flinging the ſtones about his ears, and then leaving him to be his own Auditory. Now, they have had ſo ample experiment of the Expoſer as to all theſe points, in his Defence againſt *the Naked Truth*, that I doubt his perſwaſion to this comming to hear him or others, will be of little force with them, and nothing would oblige theſe *Donatiſts* to it, but the utmoſt extremity; *nor then would they find themſelves one ſtep nearer heaven.* His Book is as good to them as a Sermon, and no doubt he has preach'd as well as printed it, and took more pains in it than ordinary; did his beſt. Muſt they, will they think, be compelled to make up the pomp of his Auditory? Muſt they, while the good Popiſh Fathers ſuffer'd thoſe of *Chiapa* to come to Church with their *Chocolatte pots*, to comfort their hearts, be inforced to come to Church by him, to have Snuſh thruſt up their Noſes, *to clear their Brains for them.* 'Tis the onely way to continue and increaſe the Schiſme. But in good ſober earneſt, 'tis happy that ſome or other of this *Few* chances ever and anon to ſpeak their minds out, to ſhew us plainly what they would be at. Being conſcious of their own unworthineſs, and hating to be reformed, it appears that they would eſtabliſh the Chriſtian Religion by a *Mahometan* way, and gather ſo much Force that it might be in their power, and we lie at their mercy, to change that Religion into *Heatheniſme Judaiſme, Turciſme*, any thing. I ſpeak with ſome emotion, but not without good reaſon, that I queſt on whether, which way ſoever the Church Revenues were applied, ſuch of them would not betake themſelves to that ſide as nimbly as the Needle to the Load ſtone. Have they not already, *ipſo facto* renounc'd their Chriſtianity, by avowing this Principle, ſo contrary to the Goſpel? Why do not they *Peter Hermite* it, and ſtir up our Prince to an *Holy War* abroad, to propagate the Proteſtant Religion, or at leaſt our Diſcipline and Ceremonies, and they take the Front of the Battel? No 'tis much better lurking in a fat Benefice here, and to domineer in their own Pariſhes above their Spiritual Vaſſals, and raiſe a kind of Civil War at home, but that none will oppoſe them. Why may they not,

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as well as force men to Church, cram the Holy Supper too down their Throats (have they not done something not much unlike it) and drive them into the Rivers by thousands to be baptized or drowned? And yet this, after the King and Parliament by his, their, Gracious Indulgence have enacted a Liberty for Five beside their own Family to meet together in their Religious Worship: and could not therefore intend at the same time to force them to go to Church with the utmost or any severity. What can be the end of these things, but to multiply Force with Force, as one absurdity is the consequence of another, till they may again have debased the Reason and Spirit of the Nation, to make them fit for Ignorance and Bondage? Is it not reason, if they had care or respect to mens soul's (which they onely exercise it seems the cure of, perhaps not that neither, but evacuate one Residence by another) to allow that men should address themselves to such Minister as they think best for their souls health? Men are all infirm and indispos'd in their spiritual condition. What sick man, but, if a Physician were inforced upon him, might in good prudence suspect it were to kill him, or that, if the next Heir and the Doctor could agree, he would certainly do it? I shall conclude this reasonable transport with remarking that although the Author did modestly challenge any man to shew him a warrant or colour or hint from Scripture, to use Force to constrain men to the Established Doctrine and Worship, and offer'd to maintain that nothing is more clear to be deduced or is more fully expresst in Scripture, nor is more suitable to Natural Reason, than that no man be forced in such Cases; the Exposer took notice of it, yet hath not produced one place of Scripture, but onely made use of Force as an Invincible Reason; so that upon supposal, which none granted him, that all his *Few* do clearly demonstrate from Scripture, what is at best therefore but deducible from Scripture, he thinks it reasonable to oblige all men by force to come to all their Parishes. And yet he himself who does (I suppose it onely for the Cases sake) believe the Scripture, although he cannot produce one place of Scripture for using this force, and though the Author has produced so many, and urges the whole Scripture that such force is not to be used, hath his brains nevertheless so confused, or so obdurate, that he cannot force himself to believe the Author: but persists in his unchristian and unreasonable desire that men *may be compelled*, and hereby deserves to be made an Example of his own Principle. For herein he exceeds *Pharaoh*, who had ten *sufficient Proposals*, and yet his heart was so hardned, that he would not let *Israel* go out of *Egypt*, but was proof against Miracles. But He onely would imagine that the *Israelites* were idle, and would therefore force them to make Brick without Straw: but the Exposers heart and brains are so hardned, that he will conceive all the Nonconformists to be *obstinate fools or hypocrits*, and therefore will *compel them* all to go to all their Parish-Churches, and to make therefore Faith without Reason. And hence it is not onely probable but demonstrable, if they were compelled to go and hear him and the *Few* of his Party, how well he or

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they would acquit themselves too, in *clearly demonstrating from Scripture the Prime Articles of Faith*, as it is extended in all the Creeds, of which it was treated in this Chapter that I have now done with, and truly almost with those remaining.

For I had intended to have gone Chapter by Chapter, affixing a distinct Title, as he does to every one of them (that men may believe he has animadverted thorowly without reading) except that concerning the difference between Bishops and Presbyters, which, as being the most easie to be answered, he therefore referred to a Bishop. But in good earnest, after having consider'd this last Chapter, so Brutal whether as to Force or Reason, I have changed my resolution. For he argues so despicably in the rest, that even I, who am none of the best *Disputers of this World*, have conceiv'd an utter contempt for him. He is a meer Kitchin-plunderer, and attacks but the Baggage, where even the Suttlers would be too hard for him. P. 18. Does the Exposer allow that under *Constantinus Pogonatus* to have been a free General Council? In the same page. If the Exposer would have done any thing in his, *Dic Ecclesiæ*, he should have proved that a General Council is the Church, that there can be such a General Council, or hath been; that the Church can impose new Articles of Faith beyond the Expres Words of Scripture; that a General Council cannot erre in matters of Faith; That the Church of his making cannot erre in matters of Faith; Whereas our Church, *Article* 19. saith thus far, *The Church of* Jerusalem, Alexandria, *and* Antioch, *have erred, so also the Church of* Rome *hath erred, not onely in their living and manner of Ceremonies, but also in matters of Faith.* This is an Induction from Particulars, and remark the Title of the Article, being *of the Church*. Ours defines it, *The Visible Church of* Christ *is a Congregation of faithful men, in which the pure Word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly ministred, according to* Christs *Ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same.* And then, if the Reader please to look on the 20. and 21. *Articles* following, one *of the Authority of the Church*, the other *of the Authority of General Councils*, unless a man will industriously mis-apply and mis-construe them, those three are a Compendious and irrefragable Answer, not onely to what he saith here upon the *Appendix*, but to his whole Book, from one end to the other, p. 19. I ask him when the *Greek* Church is excommunicate by the *Roman*, when the *Protestants* left the *Roman Church*, when we in *England* are neither *Papists*, *Lutherans*, nor *Calvinists*, and when in Queen *Maries* time we returned to the *Roman* Church, what and where then was the Catholick Church, that was indefectible and against which the Gates of Hell did not prevail? Was it not in the *Savey*? Moreover I ask him what hinders but a General Council may erre in matters of Faith, when we in *England*, that are another World, that are under an Imperial Crown, that *are none of them*, as the Exposer words it, but have a distinct Catholick Faith within our Four Seas, did in the Reign before-mentioned (and

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reckon how many in that Convocation those were that dissented) again make our selves *one of them*? unless he has a mind to do so too, which would alter the Case exceedingly. *P.* 20. He quotes the Act 1 *Eliz. cap.* 1. let him mind that clause in it, *by the express and plain words of Canonical Scripture*; and then tell me what service it hath done him: whether he had not better have let it alone, but that it is his fate all along to be condemn'd out of his own mouth, which must always succeed so, when man urges a Real Truth against a Real Truth. P. 23. I have reason to affirm and he will meet with it (and has already in the Author) that those General Councils howsoever called, were no *Repræsentatio totius nominis Christiani*, but nominally: yea that such a Representation could not be. P. 22. He expounds Scriptures here, and thinks he does wonders in it, by assuming the Faculties of the whole Body to the Mouth, which *Mouth*, he saith (and in some sense 'tis very true, if a man would run over the Concordance) *is the Clergy*. But I know not why the Mouth of the Church should pretend to be the Brain of the Church, and understand and will for the whole Laity. Let every man have his word about, and 'tis reason. We are all at the same Ordinary, and pay our souls equally for the Reckoning. The Exposer's *Mouth*, which is unconscionable, would not onely have all the Meat but all the Talk too, not onely at Church, but at Council Table. Let him read Bishop *Taylor* of Liberty of Prophecy. P. 25 The Exposer, that always falsly *Represents* his Adversary, as an Enemy to Creeds, to Fathers, (as afterwards he does to Ceremonies, to Logick, to Mathematicks, to every thing that he judiciously speaks and allows of) here. P. 25. saith the Author (who delivers but the Church of *Englands* Doctrine herein, and would not have Divine Faith impos'd upon, nor things prest beyond Scripture) in this matter of General Councils is guilty of *unthought of Popery, for the Papists* (really I think he part'y slanders them herein) *cannot endure Councils, General and Free.* They allow many a General Council more than we do. If the Pope do not, for some reason or other, delight in some that are past, or in having new ones; it does not follow that the Papists do not. I think those were Papists that ruffled the Pope too here in the West, and that at the Council of *Constance* burnt *John Hus* and *Hierome* of *Prague*, and resolv'd that Faith was not to be kept with Heretick*s*. But pray Mr. Exposer, if we must give divine Faith to General Councils, let the Author ask you in his turn which are those General Councils? How shall we know them? Why, onely such as accord with Scripture. Why, then we, I mean you Mr. Exposer, make our selves, you still, Judges of the General Councils, the fault you so much condemn the Author for. But what *Popery*, thought or *unthought of*, are you, in the very next line, guilty of, that call the Popes Supremacy *the Quintessence of Popery*? So that it seems the Quintessence of the Controversie betwixt our Church and theirs, is onely which shall be Pope: for the Articles of Religion we do not so much differ, we need not much

compulsion, though the Non-conformists may. I thank you, Mr. Exposer, for your News: I had often heard it before, I confess, but till now I did never, and scarce yet can, believe it; it is rather to be wish'd then hoped for, a thing so surprizingly seasonable. But for the good news, Mr. Exposer, I will give you four Bottles (which is all I had by me, not for mine own use, but for a friend upon occasion) of the First, Second, Third, and Fourth Essence. But the *Quintessence* I doubt would be too strong for your Brain, especially in the morning when you are writing Animadversions. P. 28. of Ceremonies he sports unworthily, as if the Author spoke *Pro* and *Con*, Contradictions: while, as a Moderator, he advises our Church to Condescension on the right, and the Dissenters to submission on the left: (how are men else to be brought together?) He had as good call every man, because he has two hands, an *Ambidexter*. He would turn every mans Stomach, worse than *the Singing-mens duty Surplices*, to hear him defend it so foolishly. P. 29, 30, 35, 36. The best of his reasons for it are the *Apparitions in white*, in the Evangelists. The *Transfiguration*. The *Saints in white Linnen*. The *Purity of a Minister*. Why then does he not wear it all the Week? The Bishop *Sisynnius* did so, and a Churchman asking him, why not in Black? as 'twas then the mode, he gave the same reasons; and I believe *Gurnay* the Non-conformist, if, as they say, he went to Market in it, learn'd them of him. Why does not the Exposer (there's more reason in Scripture *Col.* 4. 6. *Let your speech be alwayes seasoned with Salt, that ye may know how ye ought to answer every man*) carry a Salt-box alwayes in his Pocket, to be tasting of? for I doubt he is of the *Salt that has lost his savour*: however I am sure he is very insipid, and this might correct it: beside it must have been of great vertue, when he was to animadvert on *the Naked Truth*, that *he might have known how to answer him*. See *Fox* Vol. 3. p. 500. col. 2. what the Martyr, the Conformable Bishop *Ridley* saith, would not be forced to wear it, *he was no Singer*. See as to all these things his beloved *Tertullian*, de *Cor. Mil. Si ideo dicatur Coronari licere, quia non prohibeat Scriptura, æque retorquebitur, ideo Coronari non licere, quia Scriptura non jubeat.* Bishop *Chrysostome*, Or. 1. *adversus* Judæos, *Ostendite vos ex Dei sententia jejunare. Quod ni id fiat quivis ebrietate sceleratius est jejunium. Etenim contra quod sit præter Dei voluntatem est omnium pessimum. Non enim ipsa eorum quæ fiunt natura, sed Dei voluntas ac Decretum efficit ut eadem vel bona sint vel mala.* P. 33. his jeering at the Authors *Oh my Fathers*, is inhumane and impious: *but* Oh *the pity of it that twenty such* Oh's *will not amount to one Reason*. They will, *Heb.* 4. 12, 13. *that day, which the Devils believe and tremble, when all things shall be naked and bare before the Word of Truth*. P. 37. he is scarce proper to come in a Pulpit, after what he saith, that the *Apostles received not the Sacrament sitting*; much less after p. 41. he has said, *We read that our Saviour kneeled in several places*, much less after p. 59. where of preaching he saith, *He knows not what the Author means by the* Demonstration of

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the Spirit, *unleſs to ſpeak as he does, magiſterially.* He never read 1 *Cor.* 2. 4. of *preaching in demonſtration of the ſpirit*, nor *Mat.* 7. 29. how Chriſt *taught as one having authority*; there is ſuch an Art if he knew it. P. 42. he can never anſwer the Author upon *Rom.* 14. where *the zealous Obſerver of Ceremonies is the weak Brother.* He whiffles, *thoſe were the* Jewiſh *Ceremonies.* The *Jews* had a fairer pretence than we: for theirs were inſtituted by God himſelf, and they knew not they were abrogate.

His intolerably ridiculous Story out of *Schottus* p. 15. of contriving a pair of Organs of Cats, which he had done well to have made the Piggs at *Hogs Norton* play on, puts me in mind of another Story to quit it, relating as his does to *ſcrewing* the Non-conformiſts into Church; and I could not poſſibly miſs of the rencounter, becauſe the Gentleman's name of whom it is told, is the Monoſyllable voice with which Cats uſually addreſs themſelves to us. 'Twas (you have it as I had it) the Vice-Chancellour of one of our Univerſities, but now a Biſhop, *Octob.* 22. 1671. and 12. *Febr.* 1669. He came to a Fanaticks houſe, they not being then at Worſhip, y'one o'm ſaid, *They were come to pray to the God of Heaven and Earth*; he ſaid, *Then they were within the Act.* He would force them to Church to Saint *Maries*, himſelf laid hands on'm. *He commanded them to follow him in the Kings name.* His Beadle told them, *He would drive them thither in the Devils name.* The Vice-Chancellour ſaid he had converted hundreds ſo at *Reading.* They ſpoke of Queen *Maries* dayes, he ſaid, *he could burn them too now, if the Law required it.* There was old tugging, he had the victory. They were placed in Saint *Maries*, with Beadles to attend them. As he carried them in he quoted *Luke* 14. 23 *Compel them to come in.* What pity 'tis the Expoſer knew not of this Text, that he might have had one Scripture for his Doctrine of Compulſion! But it chanced the Miniſter there preached one time *Acts* 5. 41. the other time *Mat.* 10. 16. Afterwards he took the penalty nevertheleſs for not having been at Church that ſame Sunday that he had hurried them thither. P. 62. He ſpeaks of Biſhop *Morton*, whoſe *induſtrious Brain made up the fatal breach between the two Houſes of* York *and* Lancaſter. Much good do the Clergy with their Lay Offices. He coggs p. 7. with the Biſhop of *Ely* for his ſhort Syllogiſme: he made a longer of the *Holineſs of Lent.* He complements (I ſaid he would not forget him) my Lord Chancellor *the Chriſtian* Cicero. 'Tis true of him, but contradictorily expreſt. *Pſ.* 35. 16. *With the flatterers were buſy mockers, that gnaſhed with their teeth.* The Expoſer has commenc'd in both Faculties. But the Printer calls: the Preſs is in danger. I am weary of ſuch ſtuffe, both mine own and his. I will rather give him this following Eſſay of mine own to baſie him, and let him take his turn of being the *Popilius.*

A short Historical Essay, touching General Councils, Creeds, and Imposition in Religion.

THE Christian Religion, as first Instituted by our Blessed Saviour was the greatest security to Magistrates by the Obedience which it taught, and was fitted to enjoy no less security under them by a Practice conformable to that Doctrine. For our Saviour himself, not pretending to an Earthly Kingdom, took such care therefore to instruct his followers in the due Subjection to Governours; that, while they observed his Precepts, they could neither fall under any Jealousy of State as an ambitious and dangerous Party, nor as Malefactors upon any other account deserve to suffer under the Publick Severity: So that in this only it could seem pernicious to Government that Christianity, if rightly exercised upon its own Principles, would render all Magistracy useless. But although he, *who was Lord of all, and to whom all Power was given both in Heaven and in Earth*, was nevertheless contented to come in the form of a Servant, and to let the Emperours and Princes of the World alone with the use of their Dominions; he thought it good reason to retain his Religion under his own cognizance and exempt its Authority from their jurisdiction. In this alone he was imperious, and did not only practise it himself against the Laws and Customs then received, and in the face of the Magistrate; but continually seasoned and hardened his Disciples in the same confidence and obstinacy. He tells them, *They shall be brought before Kings and Governours for his name* but fear them not, he will be with them, bear them out and justifie it against all Opposition. Not that he allowed them hereby to violate their duty to the Publick by any resistance in defiance of the Magistracy; but he instructed and animated them in their duty to God, in despight of Suffering.

In this manner Christianity did at first set out and accordingly found reception. For although our Blessed Saviour, *having fulfilled all Righteousness* and the time of his Ministery being compleated, did by his Death set the Seal to his Doctrine, and shew the way toward Life and Immortality to such as Believing imitate his Example: yet did not the *Heathen* Magistrate take the Government to be concerned in the point of Religion or upon that account consent to his Execution. *Pontius Pilate*, then Governour of *Judæa*, though he were a man unjust and cruel by Nature, and served *Tiberius*, the most tender, jealous, and severe in point of State or Prerogative, of all the *Romane* Emperours; though he understood that great Multitudes followed him, and that he was grown the Head of a new Sect that was never before heard of in the Nation, yet did not he intermeddle. But they were the men of Religion, the Chief Priests, Scribes and Elders and the High-Priest *Caiaphas*. And yet, although they accused him falsly, That *he taught that Tribute was not to be given to* Cæsar

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that *he* was a Fifth Monarch and *made himself a King*, and (as it is usual for some of the Clergy to terrifie the inferiour Magistrates out of their duty to Justice under pretence of Loyalty to the Prince) threatned *Pilate* that *if he let that man go he was not* Cæsars *friend*; he understanding *that they did it out of Envy*, and that the Justice and Innocence of our Saviour was what they could not bear with, would have adventured all their Informing at Court, and first have freed him and then have exchanged him for *Barrabas*; saying, that *he found no fault in him*: but he was overborne at last by humane weakness and poorly imagined that by washing his own hands he had expiated himself and wiped off the guilt upon those alone who were the occasion. But, as for *Tiberius* himself, the growth of Christianity did never increase his cares of Empire *at Rome*, nor trouble his sleep at *Capreæ*: but he both approved of the Doctrine, and threatned the Informers with Death; nor would have staid there, but attempted, according to the way of their Superstition, upon the intelligence he had from *Pilate*, to have received *Christ* into the number of their Deities. The Persecution of the Apostles after his Death, and the Martyrdome of *Stephen* happened not by the interposing of the Civil Magistrate in the matter of Religion, or any disturbance occasioned by their Doctrines: but arose from the High-Priest and his emissaries, by suborned Witnesses, stirring up the rabble in a brutish and riotous manner to execute their cruelty. How would the modern Clergy have taken and represented it, had they lived in the time of St. *John Baptist* and seen *Jerusalem, Judæa and all the Region round about* Jordan *go out to be baptized by him*! Yet that *Herod*, for any thing we read in Scripture, though he wanted not his instillers, apprehended no Commotion: and had not *Caligula* banished him and his *Herodias* together, might in all appearance have lived without any change of Government. 'Twas she that caused *John's* Imprisonment for the convenience of her Incest, *Herod* indeed *feared him*, but rather reverenced him, *as a just man*, and *an holy*, *observed him and when he heard him he did many things and heard him gladly*. Nor could all her subtilty have taken off his Head, but that *Herod* thought himself under the obligations of a Dance and an Oath, and knew not in that Case they ought both to be dispensed with. But *he was exceeding sorry at his death*, which few Princes are if men have lived to their jealousie or danger. The Killing of *James* and Imprisonment of *Peter* by that other *Herod* was *because he saw he pleased the people*; when the Priests had once set them on madding: a Complaisance to which the most innocent may be exposed, but which partakes more of guile than Civility or Wisdome.

But, to find out what the disinterested and prudent men of those dayes took to be the wisest and only justifiable way for the Magistrate to proceed in upon matters of Religion, I cannot see any thing more pregnant than the concurrent Judgment of three Persons, of so different Characters, and that lived so far a sunder, that there can be no danger of their having

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corrupted one anothers Understanding in favour to Christianity. *Gamaliel*, the Deputy of *Achaia*, and the Town clerk of *Ephesus*; The first a Jewish Doctor, by Sect a Pharisee, one of the Council, and of great Authority with the People, who (when the Chief-Priest had cast the Apostles in Prison, and charged them for Preaching against the Command he had before laid upon them) yet gave this advice, confirming it with several fresh precedents, *Acts* 5. *That they should take heed to themselves what they intended to do with those men and let them alone, for if this counsel*, saith he, *or this work be of men, it will come to nought*, but *if it be of God you cannot overthrow it, lest ye be found fighting with God.* So that his Opinion grounded upon his best experience, was that the otherwise unblameable Sect of Christianity might safely and ought to be left to stand or fall by Gods Providence under a free Toleration of the Magistrate. The Second was *Gallio*, Acts 18 A *Roman*, and Deputy of *Achaia*. The *Jews* at *Corinth* hurried *Paul* before his Tribunal, laying the usual charge against him, *That he perswaded men to Worship God contrary to the Law*: which *Gallio* looked upon as so slight and without his Cognizance, that, although most Judges are willing to increase the jurisdiction of their Courts, *He drave them away*, saving *Paul* the labour of a defence, and told them, *If it were a matter of wrong or wicked lewdness, reason would that he should bear with them, but if it be a question of words and names and of your law, look ye to it I will be no judge of such matters*: and when he had so said, *Paul* was released, but the *Greeks* that were present took *Barrabas*, and before the Judgment Seat *beat* Sosthenes *the Chief Ruler of the Synagogue*, and Ring leader of the Accusers. His Judgment therefore was that, to punish Christians merely for their Doctrine and Practise, unless they were Malefactors otherwise, was a thing out of the Magistrates Province and altogether unreasonable. The Third case was no less remarkable. For one *Demetrius*, that was a Silver-smith by trade and made shrines for *Diana*, stirred up all the Free-men of his Company against *Paul*, and indeed he stated the matter very fairly and honestly, assigning the true Reason of most of these Persecutions: *Ye know that by this craft we have our wealth, but that by* Pauls *Preaching that they be no Gods which are made with hands, not only our Craft is in danger to be set at naught, but also the Temple of the great Goddess and her Magnificence, whom all* Asia *and the World Worship, should be despised and destroyed.* And it is considerable that even the *Jews*, though of a contrary Religion yet, fomented, as it usually chances, this difference and egg'd the *Ephesians* on against the Apostle and his followers. But when they had brought *Alexander*, one of *Paul*'s Companions into the Theatre, the Recorder of *Ephesus* (more temperate and wise than some would have been in that Office) would not make any *Inquisition* upon the matter, nor put *Alexander* upon his tryal and defence, but, (although he himself could not have born that Office without being a great *Diuntst*, as he declared too in his discourse) he tells the People, *They*

had

had brought those men which were neither robbers of Churches nor Blasphemers of their Goddess, (for that Judge would not Condemn men by any interences or expositions of old Statutes, which long after was *Julian's* practice and since imitated) *and therefore if* Demetrius *and his Crafts-men had any matter against them the Law was open, and it should be determined in a Lawful Assembly, but that the whole City was in danger to be called in question for that uproar, there being no cause whereby they might give account of that concourse.* And by this he plainly enough signified, that if *Paul* and his Companions had stoln the Church-Plate they might well be indicted, but that *Demetrius* had no more reason in Law against them, then a Chandler might have had, if by *Paul's* Preaching Wax tapers, as well as Silver-Candlesticks had grown out of fashion. That it is matter of right and wrong betwixt man and man that the Justice of Government lookes too: but that, while Christianity was according to its own Principle carried on quietly, it might so fall that the disturbers of it were guilty of a Riot and their great City of *Ephesus* deserve to be fin'd for't. And taking this to have been so, he dismist the Assembly, *Acts* 19

After these Testimonies which I have collected out of the History of the *Acts*, as of greatest Authority, I shall only add one or two more out of the same Book, wherein *Paul* likewise was concern'd before Heathen Magistrates of greater eminence, *Acts* 23. *Ananias* the High Priest (these alwayes were the men) having countenanc'd and instigated the *Jews* to a Conspiracy, in which *Paul's* Life was indanger'd and aim'd at *Lysias* the chief Captain of *Jerusalem* interposes and sends him away to *Felix* then Governour of *Judæa*; signifying by Letter *That he had been accused only of questions of their Law*, but he found nothing to be laid to his Charge worthy of Death or of Bonds. Whereof *Felix* also, though the High-Priest was so zealous in the Prosecution that he took the journey on purpose, and had instructed an exquisite Orator *Tertullus* to harangue *Paul* out of his Life, as a *Pestilent-fellow, a mover of Sedition and Ring-leader of the Sect of the* Nazarenes, not omitting even to charge *Lysias* for *rescuing him by great violence* from being Murdered by them, was so well satisfied of the contrary upon full hearing, that he gave him his Libery and *a Centurion for his guard, with command that none of his acquaintance should be debarr'd from comming and Ministring to him.* But being indeed to leave his Government afterwards; *left him in Prison*, partly to shew the *Jews* and their High-Priest another piece of complaisant Policy, which; 'tis possible they paid well for, seeing the other reason was, because though he had *sent for* Paul *the oftner and communed with him, in hopes that he would have given him money to be discharged*, there came nothing of it. Which was so base a thing in so great a Minister, that the meanest Justice of the Peace in *England* would scarce have the face to do so upon the like occasion. But his Successor *Festus*, having called *Agrippa* and *Berenice* to hear the Cause, they all three were of Opinion, that 'twas all on the *Jews* side calumny and impertinence but

that

that *Paul* had *done nothing Worthy of death or of Bonds, and might have been ſet free but that having appeal'd to* Cæſar he muſt be tranſmitted to him in ſafe Cuſtody. Such was the ſenſe of thoſe upon whom the Emperors then relyed for the Government and ſecurity of their Provinces: and ſo groſs were their Heathen underſtandings, that they could not yet comprehend how quietneſs was Sedition, or the innocence of the Chriſtian Worſhip could be ſubject to forfeiture or penalty. Nay, when *Paul* appear'd even before *Nero* himſelf *and had none to ſtand by him but all forſook him*: he was by that Emperor acquitted, and permitted a long time to follow the work of his Miniſtry. 'Tis true that afterwards this *Nero* had the honour to be the Firſt of the *Roman* Emperors that Perſecuted Chriſtianity; whence it is that *Tertullian* in his *Apologetick* ſaith; *We glory in having ſuch an one the firſt beginner and Author of our puniſhment, for there is none that hath read of him, but muſt underſtand ſome great good to have been in that Doctrine, otherwiſe* Nero *would not have Condemned it.*

And thence forward Chriſtianity for about Three hundred Years lay ſubject to Perſecution. For the *Gentile* Prieſts could not but obſerve a great decay in their Pariſhes, a neglect of their Sacrifices and diminution of their Profits by the daily and viſible increaſe of that Religion. And God in his wiſe Providence had ſo ordered that, as the *Jews* already ſo, the *Heathens* now having fill'd up their meaſure with iniquity, *Sprinkling the Blood of his Saints among their Sacrifices*, and the Chriſtians having in a ſevere Apprentiſhip of ſo many Ages Learned the Trade of Suffering, they ſhould at laſt be their own Maſters and admitted to their Freedom. Neither yet, even in thoſe times when they lay expoſed to Perſecution, were they without ſome Intervalls and catching ſeaſons of Tranquility, wherein the Churches had leiſure to reap conſiderable advantage, and the Clergy too might have been inured, as they had been Exemplary under Affliction ſo, to bear themſelves like Chriſtians when they ſhould arrive at a full proſperity. For as oft as there came a juſt *Heathen* Emperour and a lover of Mankind, that either himſelf obſerved, or underſtood by the Governours of his Provinces, the innocence of their Religion and Practices, their readineſs to pay Tribute, their Prayers for his Government and Perſon, their faithful Service in his Wars, but their Chriſtian valour and contumacy to Death, under the moſt exquiſite Torments, for their holy profeſſion; he forthwith relented, he rebated the Sword of the Executioner, and could not find in his heart or in his power to excerciſe it againſt the exercize of that Religion. It being demonſtrable that a Religion inſtituted upon Juſtice betwixt man and man. Love to one another, yea even their Enemies, Obedience to the Magiſtrate in all Humane and Moral Matters, and in Divine Worſhip upon a conſtant exerciſe thereof and as conſtant Suffering in that Cauſe, without any pretence or latitude for Reſiſtance, cannot, ſo long as it is true to it ſelf in theſe things, fall within the Magiſtrates Juriſdiction.

But

But as it first was planted without the Magistrates hand, and the more they pluck'd at it, so much the more still it flouricted, so it would be to the end of the world, and whensoever Governors have a mind to try for it, it will by the same means and method sooner or later foil them, but, if they have a mind to pull up that Mandrake it were adviseable for them not to do it themselves, but to chuse out a Dog for the Imployment. I confess whensoever a Christian transgresseth these bounds once, he is impoundable or like a wase and stray whom *Christ* knows not, he falls to the Lord of the Mannor. But otherwise he cannot suffer, he is invulnerable by the sword of Justice: only a man may swear and damn himself to kill the first honest man he meets, which hath been, and is the case of all true Christians worshiping God under the power and violence of their Persecutors.

But the Truth is that, even in those times which some men now, as oft as it is for their advantage, do consecrate under the name of Primitive, the Christians were become guilty of their own punishment, and had it not been, as is most usual, that the more Sincere Professors suffered promiscuously for the Sins and Crimes of those that were Carnal and Hypocrites, their Persecutors may be look'd upon as having been the due Administrators of God's Justice. For (not to go deeper) if we consider that which is reckoned the Tenth Persecution under *Diocletian*, so incorrigable were they after nine preceding, what other could be expected when *Eusebius* l. 3. c. 1. sadly laments having related how *before that the Christians lived in great trust and reputation in Court, the Bishops of each Church were beloved, esteem'd and reverenced by all mankind and by the Presidents of the Provinces, the Meetings in all the Cities were so many and numerous, that it was necessary and allow'd them to erect in every one spacious and goodly Churches, all things went on prosperously with them, and to such an height that no envious man could disturb them, no Divel could hurt them, as long as walking yet worthy of those mercies they were under the Almighty's cure and protection: after that our affair by that too much Liberty, degenerated into Luxury and Laziness, and some prosecuted others with Hatred, Contumely, and almost all of us wounded our selves with the weapons of the Tongue in ill language when Bishops set upon Bishops, and the people that belonged to one of them stirred Sedition against the people of another; then horrible Hypocrisy and Dissimulation sprung up to the utmost extremity of Malice, and the Judgement of God, while yet there was liberty to meet in the Congregations, did sensibly and by steps begin to visit us, the Persecution at first discharging it self upon our Brethren that were in the Army, But having no feeling of the hand of God, nor indeavouring to make our peace with him, and living as if we believed that God did neither take notice of our Transgressions nor would visit us for them, we heaped up Iniquity upon Iniquity. And those which seemed to be our Pastors, kicking under foot the rules of Piety, were inflamed among themselves with mutual Contentions, and while they minded nothing else but to exaggerate their Quarrells, Threats, Emulation, Hatred and Enemies, and earnestly each of them pursued his particular Ambition in a Tyrannical manner, then indeed the Lord, then I say, according to the voice of the Pro-*

phet Jeremy, *he covered the Daughter of* Zion *with a cloud of his anger, and cast down from Heaven unto earth the beauty of* Israel; *and remembred not his foot-stool in the day of his anger.* And so the Pious Historian Pathetically goes on, and deplores the Calamities that insued, to the loss of all that stock of Reputation, Advantage, Liberty and Safety, which Christian people had by true Piety and adhering strictly to the Rules of their Profession formerly acquired and injoyned, but had now forfeited and smarted deservedly under *Diocletian's persecution.* And it was *a severe* one, the longest too that ever happened, ten years from his beginning of it and continued by others: by which time one might have thought the Church would have been sufficiently winnowed, and nothing left but the pure Wheat, whereas it proved quite contrary, and the holiest and most constant of the Christians being blown away by Martyrdom, it seem'd by the succeeding times as if nothing but the Chaff and the Tares remained. But there was yet such a Seed left, and notwithstanding the defection of many, so internal a virtue in the Religion it self, that *Diocletian* could no longer stand against it, and tired out in two years time, was glad to betake himself from rooting out Christianity, to gardening and to sow Pot-herbs at *Salona.* And he with his partner *Maximianus*, resigned the Empire to *Galerius* and *Constantius*, the excellent Father of a more glorious and Christian Son, *Constantine* the Great, who in due season succeeded him, and by a chain of Gods extraordinary providences seemed to have been let down from Heaven to be Emperor of the whole World, and as I may say, the Universal Apostle of Christianity.

It is one presstible the virtue of that Prince, his Care, his Indulgence, his Liberality his own Example, every thing that could possibly tend to the promotion and incouragement of true Religion and Piety. And in order to that he thought he could not do better, neither indeed could he, then to shew a peculiar respect to the Clergy and Bishops, providing largely for their subsistence, and they too on their part behaving themselves worthy of their High Calling, are known to make right use of the advantages of his Bounty to the same ends that they were by him intended. For if the Apostle 1 Tim. 5. 17. requires *that an Elder, provided he rule well, be accounted worthy of Double Honor, especially those who labouring in the Word and Doctrine*, it excludes not a Decuple or any further proportion, and indeed there cannot be too high a value be set upon such a Person: and God forbid too that any measure of wealth should render a Clergy man Uncanonical. But alas, Bishops were already grown another Name and Thing, then at the Apostles Institution; and had so altered their property, that *Paul* would have had much difficulty by all the marks in the 1 *Tim.* 3. to have known them. They were ill enough under persecution many of them, but that long and sharp Winter under *Diocletian*, being seconded by so warm a Summer under *Constantine*, produced a Pestilence, which as an Infection that seizes sometimes only one sort of Cattel, Diffused it self more remarkably thorow the whole body of the Clergy. From his reign the most sober Historians date that New Disease which was so

generally

generally propagated then, and ever since transmitted to some of their Successors, that it hath given reason to inquire whether it only happened to those men as it might to others, or where not inherent to the very Function. It show'd it self first in ambition, then in Contention, next in Imposition, and after these Symptoms broke out at last like a Plague-Sore in open Persecution. They the Bishops who began to vouch themselves the Successors of *Christ*, or at least of his Apostles, yet pretended to be Heirs and Executors of the *Jewish* High-Priests and the Heathen Tyrants, and were ready to prove the Will. The Ignorant *Jews* and Infidels understood not how to Persecute, had no Commission to meddle with Religion, but the Bishops had studied the Scriptures, knew better things, and the same, which was Cruelty and Tyranny in the Heathens, if done by a Christian and Ecclesiastical hand, was hallowed to be Church-Government and the care of a Diocess. But that I may not seem to speak without book or out-run the History, I shall return to proceed by those degrees I newly mention'd whereby the Christian Religion was usurped upon, and those things became their crime which were their duties.

The first was the Ambition of the Bishops, which had even before this taken its rise when in the intervals of the former Persecutions the Piety of the Christians had laid out ample provisions for the Church, but when *Constantine* not only restored those which had been all confiscate under *Diocletian*, but was every day adding some new Possession, Priviledge, or Honor, a Bishoptick became very desirable, and was not only *a Good Work*, but a Good Thing, especially when there was now no danger of paying as it was usual, formerly their First-fruits to the Emperor by Martyrdom. The Arts by which Ambition climes, are Calumny, Dissimulation, Cruelty, Bribery, Adulation, all applyed in their proper places and seasons; and when the man hath attained his end he ordinarily shows himself then in his colours, in Pride, Opiniastry, Contention, and all other requisite or incident ill Qualities. And if the Clergy of those times had some more dextrous and innocent way then this of managing their Ambition, it is to be lamented *inter Artes Deperditas*, or lyes enviously hid by some musty Book-worm in his private Liberary. But so much I find that both before, and then and after, they cast such Crimes at one another, that a Man would scarce think he were reading an History of Bishops, but a Legend of Divels: and each took such care to blacken his adversary, and he regarded not how he smutted himself thereby and his own Order, to the Laughter or Horror of the by-standers. And one thing I remark particularly, that as Son of a Whore is the modern Word of Reproach among the Laity, of the same use then among the Clergy was Heretick. There were indeed Hereticks as well as there are Bastards, and perhaps it was not their fault, (neither of 'em could help it) but the Mothers or the Fathers. but they made so many Hereticks in those days, that 'tis hard to think they really believ'd them so, but adventur'd the Name only to pick a Quarrel. And one thing that makes it very suspicious, is, that in the Ecclesiastical History the Ring-leaders of any Heresy

for the moſt part accuſed of having a mind to be a Biſhop, though it was not the way to come to it. As here was the damnable Hereſy of the *Novatians*, againſt which *Conſtantine*, notwithſtanding his Declaration of general Indulgence at his coming in, was ſhortly after ſo incenſed, that he publiſhed a moſt ſevere Proclamation againſt them; *Cognoſcite jam per legem hanc quæ in me ſancita eſt O Novatiani*. &c. prohibiting all their meetings, not only in Publick, but in their own Private Houſes, and that all ſuch places where they aſſembled for their worſhip, ſhould be raſed to the ground without delay or controverſie, &c. *Euſ.* l. 3. c. 62. *de vita Conſtantini*. Now the ſtory the Biſhops tell of *Novatus* the Author of that Sect. *Euſeb.* l. 6. c. 24. is in the words of *Cornelius* the Biſhop of *Rome*, the very firſt line. *But that you may know that this brave* Novatus *did even before that affect to be a Biſhop* (a great crime in him) *that he might conceal that petulant Ambition, he for a better cover to his arrogance, had got ſome Confeſſors into his Society*, &c. and goes on calling him all to naught, *but then*, ſaith he, *he came with two Reprobates of his own Hereſy into a little, the very leaſt, Shire of* Italy *and by their means ſeduced three moſt ſimple high-ſhoon Biſhops, wheedling them that they muſt with all ſpeed go to* Rome *and there meeting with other Biſhops all Matters ſhould be reconciled. And when he had got thither theſe three Silly Fellows, as I ſaid, that were not aware of his cunning, he had prepared a company of Rogues like Himſelf, that treated them in a private room very freely, and having thwack'd their bellies and heads full with meat and drink, compell'd the poor drunken Biſhops by an imaginary and vain Impoſition of Hands, to make* Novatus *alſo a Biſhop*. Might not one of the ſame Order now better have conceal'd theſe things had they been true, but ſuch was the diſcretion. Then he tells *that one of the three returned ſoon after*, repenting it ſeems next morning, *and ſo he received him again into the Church* unto the *Laick Communion*. But for the other two he had ſent Succeſſors into their places. And yet after all this ado, and the whetting of *Conſtantine*, contrary to his own Nature and his own Declarations againſt the *Novatians*, I cannot find their Hereſy to have been other then that they were the *Puritans* of thoſe times, and a ſort of Non-conformiſts that could have ſubſcribed to the Six and thirty Articles, but differed only in thoſe of Diſcipline: and upon ſome inormities therein ſeparated, and (which will always be ſufficient to qualify an Heretick) they inſtituted Biſhops of their own in moſt places. And yet afterwards in the times of the beſt *Homouſian* Emperors, a ſober and ſtrictly Religious People did ſo conſtantly adhere to them, that the Biſhops of the Church too found meet to give them fair quarter; for as much as *they differ'd not in Fundamentals, and therefore were of uſe to them againſt Heretick; that were more dangerous and diametrically oppoſite to the Religion*. Nay in ſo much, that even the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, yea of *Rome*, notwithſtanding that moſt tender point and intereſt of Epiſcopacy, ſuffered the *Novatian* Biſhops to walk cheek by joul with them in their own Dioceſs; until that, as *Socr.* l. 7. c. 11. *the* Roman *Epiſcopacy having as it were paſſed the bounds of Prieſthood, ſlipp'd into a Secular Principality*,

pality, and thenceforward the Roman *Bishops would not suffer their Meetings with Security, but, though they commended them for their Consent in the same Faith with them, yet took away all their Estates.* But at *Constantinople* they continued to fare better, the Bishops of that Church *embracing* Novatians *and free liberty to keep their Conventicles in their Churches.* What, and to have their Bishops too, Altar against Altar? A Condescention which as our Nonconformists seem not to desire or think of, so the Wisdom of these times would, I suppose, judge to be very unreasonable, but rather that it were fit to take the other course, and that whatsoever advantage the Religion might probably receive from their Doctrine and party, 'tis better to suppress them, and make havock both of their Estates and Persons. But however the Hereticks in *Constantine*'s time had the less reason to complain of ill Measure, seeing it was that the Bishops meated by among themselves. I pass over that controversy betwixt *Cecilianus*, the Bishop of *Carthage* and his adherents, with another set of Bishops there in *Africk*, upon which *Constantine* ordered ten of each party to appear before *Miltiades* the Bishop of *Rome* and others to have it decieved. Yet after they had given sentence, *Constantine* found it necessary to have a Council for a review of the business, as in his Letter to *Chrestus* the Bishop of *Syracusa*, Euseb. l. 10. c. 6. *Wherein as several have formerly separated from the* Catholick *Heresy*, (for that word was not yet so ill natured but that it might sometimes be used in its proper and good Sense:) and then relates his Commission to the Bishop of *Rome* and others; *But for as much as some having been careless of their own salvation, and forgetting the reverence due to that most holy Heresy* (again) *will not yet lay down their enmity, nor admit the sentence that hath been given, obstinately affirming that they were but a few that pronounced the Sentence, and that they did it very precipitately, before they had duly inquired of the matter: and from hence it hath happened that both they who ought to have kept a brotherly and unanimous agreement together, do abominably and flagitiously dissent from one another, and such whose minds are alienated from the most holy Religion, do make a mockery both of it and them. Therefore I, &c. have commanded very many Bishops out of innumerable places to meet at* Arles, *that what ought to have been quieted upon the former Sentence pronounced, may now at least be determined, &c. and you to be one of them, and therefore I have ordered the Prefect of* Sicily *to furnish you with one of the publick Stage-Coachers and so many Servants &c.*

Such was the use then of Stage Coaches, Post Horses, and Councils, to the great disappointment and grievance of the *many*: both Men and Horses and Leather being hackneyd jaded and worn out upon the errand of some contentious and obstinate Bishop. So went the Affairs hitherto, and thus well disposed and prepared were the Bishops to receive the Holy Ghost a second time at the great and first general Council of *Nice*, which is so much Celebrated.

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The occasions of calling it were two. The first a most important question in which the Wit and Piety of their Predecessors and now their successively had been much exercised and taken up: that was upon what day they ought to keep *Easter*, which though it were no point of Faith that it should be kept at all, yet the very calendiny of it was controverted with the same zeal, and made as heavy a do in the Church as if both parties had been Hereticks. And it is reckoned by the Church Historians as one of the chief felicities of *Constantines* Empire to have quieted in that Councel this main controversie. The second cause of the assembling them here was indeed grown, as the Bishop had ordered it, a matter of the greatest weight and consequence to the Christian Religion, one *Arrius* having as is related, to the disturbance of the Church, started a most pernicious opinion in the point of the Trinity. Therefore from all parts of the Empire they met together at the City of *Nice*, two hundred and fifty Bishops, and better, saith *Eusebius*, a goodly company, three hundred and eighteen say others, and the Animadverter too, with that pithy remark, *pa.* 23. *Equal almost to the number of servants bred up in the house of Abraham.* The Emperour had accommodated them every where with the posts, or layd Horses all along for the convenience of their journey thither, and all the time they were here supplyed them abundantly with all sorts of provision at his own charges. And when they were all first assembled in Council, in the great Hall of the Imperial Palace, he came in having put on his best clothes to make his guests welcome; and saluted with that profound humility as if they all had been Emperour, nor would sit down in his Throne, no it was a very little and low stool, till they had all beckoned and made signes to him to sit down. No wonder if the first Council of *Nice* run in their heads ever after, and the ambitious Clergy, like those who have been long a thirst, took so much of *Constantinus* kindness, that they are scarce come to themselves again after so many Ages. The first thing was that he acquainted them with the causes of his summoning them thither, and in a grave and most Christian discourse *exhorted them* (to keep the peace or) *to a good agreement* as there was reason. *For* (saith *Ruffin* L. 1. c. 2. *the Bishops being meet here almost of all parts, and as they use to do, bringing their quarrels about several matters along with them, every of them was at the Emperour, offering him Petitions, laying out one anothers faults,* (for all the good advice he had given them) *and were more intent upon these things then upon the business they were sent for. But he, considering that by these scoldings and Brekerings the main affair was frustrated, appointed a set-day by which all the Bishops should bring him in whatsoever complaint they had against one another.* And they being all brought, he made them that high *Asiatick* complement: *God hath made you Priests, and hath given you power to judge me, and therefore it is in you to judge me righteously, But you cannot be judged by any men. It is God only can judge you, and therefore reserve all your quarrels to his Tribunal. For you are as Gods to me, and it is not convenient a man should judge of Gods, but he only of whom it is written,* God standeth in the Congregation of the Gods, and discerneth in the midst of them. *And therefore setting these things aside,*

aside, apply your minds without any contention to the concernment of God's Religion. And so *without opening or reading one Petition commanded them all together to be burnt there in his presence.* An action of great Charity and excellent Wisdom, had but some of the words been spared. For doubtless, though they that would have complained of their brethren, grumbled a little; yet those that were accusable were all very well satisfied: and those expressions, *you can judge me righteously, and you cannot be judged by any man,* and *God only can judge you. You are Gods to me,* &c. were so extreamly sweet to some of the Bishops palats, that they believ'd it, and could never think of them afterwards but their teeth watered; and they ruminated so long on them, that *Constantine's* Successors came too late to repent it. But now the Bishops, having mist of their great end of quarrelling one with another, betake themselves though somwhat aukwardly to business. And it is necessary to mind, that as shortly as possible for the understanding of it, I give a cursory accouut of *Alexander* and *Arrius*, with some few others that were the most interessed in that general and first great revolution of Ecclesiattical affairs, since the dayes of the Apostles. This *Alexander* was the Bishop of *Alexandria*, and appears to have been a pious old Man, but not equally prudent, nor in Divine things of the most capable, nor in conducting the affairs of the Church, very dextrous; but he was the Bishop. This Character that I have given of him, I am the more confirmed in from some passages that follow, and all of them pertinent to the matter before me. They were used *Sozom.* l. 2. c. 16. at *Alexandria* to keep yearly a solemn Festival to the memory of *Peter* one of their former Bishops, upon the same day he suffered Martyrdom, which *Alexander* having Celebrated at the Church with publick Devotion, was sitting after at home expecting some guests to dine with him, *Sozom.* l. 2. c. 16. As he was alone and looking towards the Sea side, he saw a pitty way off the Boys upon the beach, at an old Recreation, imitating it seems the Rites of the Church and office of the Bishops, and was much delighted with the sight as long as it appear'd an innocent and harmless representation: but when he observed them at last how they acted, the very administration of the Sacred Mysteries, he was much troubled, and sending for some of the chief of his Clergy, caused the Boys to be taken and brought before him. He asked them particularly what kind of sport they had been at, and what the words, and what the actions were that they had used in it. After their fear had hindred them a while from answering, and now they were afraid of being silent, they confessed that a Lad of their play-fellows, one *Athanasius*, had baptized some of them that were not yet initiated in those Sacred Mysteries: Whereupon *Alexander* inquired the more accurately what the Bishop of the game had said, and what he did to the boyes he had baptized, what they also had answered or learned from him. At last, when *Alexander* perceiv'd by them that his Pawn-Bishop had made all his removes right, and that the whole Ecclesiastical Order and Rite had been duely observed in their interlude, he by the advice of his Priests about him approved of that Mock Baptism, and determined that, the boys being

ing once in the ſimplicity of their minds dipped in the Divine Grace, ought not to be Re-baptized, but he perfected it with the remaining Myſteries, which it is only lawful for the Prieſts to adminiſter. And then he delivered *Athanaſius* and the reſt of the boyes that had acted the parts of *Presbyters* and *Deacons* to their Parents calling God to witneſs that they ſhould be educated in the Miniſtery of the Church, that they might paſs their lives in that calling which they had choſen by imitation. But as for *Athanaſius*, in a ſhort while after *Alexander* took him to live with him and be his Secretary, having cauſed him to be carefully educated in the Schools of the beſt *Grammarians* and *Rhetoricians*; and he grew in the opinion of all that ſpoke with him a diſcreet and eloquent perſon, and will give occaſion to be more then once mentioned again in this Diſcourſe, I have tranſlated this in a manner word for word from the Author. This good natured old Biſhop *Alexander* that was ſo far from Anathemiſing, that he did not ſo much as whip the boyes for profanation of the Sacrament againſt the Diſcipline of the Church, but without more doing, left them, for ought I ſee, at liberty to regenerate as many more Lads upon the next Holyday as they thought convenient: He *Socr.* l. c. 3. *being a man that lived an eaſy and gentle life, had one day called his Prieſts and the reſt of his Clergy together, and fell on Philoſophying divinely among them, but ſomthing more ſubtly and curiouſly* (though I dare ſay he meant no harm) *then was uſual, concerning the Holy Trinity.* Among the reſt, one *Arrius* a Prieſt too of *Alexandria* was there preſent, a Man who is deſcribed to be a good Diſputant, and others add, (the Capital accuſation of thoſe times) that he had a mind to have been a Biſhop and bore a great pique at *Alexander*, for he having been preferr'd before him to the See of *Alexandria*: but more are ſilent of any ſuch matter, and *Sozom* l. 1. c. 14. ſaith *he was in a great eſteem with his Biſhop.* But *Arrius* Socr. l. 1. c. 3. *hearing her diſcourſe about the Holy Trinity and the Unity in the Trinity conceiv'd that, as the Biſhop ſtated it, he had reaſon to ſuſpect he was introducing afreſh into the Church the Hereſy of Sabellius* the *African* who *Fatebatur unum eſſe Deum, & eta in unam eſſentiam Trinitatem adducebat, ut aſſeveret in nullam eſſe vere ſubjectam proprietatem perſonis, ſed nomina maturi pro eo atque uſus poſcant, ut nunc de illo ut patre, nunc ut filio, nunc ut ſpiritu ſancto diſſeratur*: and thereupon it ſeems *Arrius* argued warmly for that opinion which was directly contrary to the *Africane*, driving the Biſhop from one to a ſecond, from a ſecond to a third, ſeeming abſurdity; which I ſtudiouſly avoid the relation of, that in all theſe things I may not give occaſion for Mens underſtandings to work by their memories, and propogate the ſame errors by the ſame means they were firſt occaſion'd. But hereby *Arrius* was himſelf blamed as the maintainer of thoſe abſurdities which he affixed to the Biſhops opinion, as is uſual in the heat and wrangle of Diſputation. Whereas Truth for the moſt part lyes in the middle, but men ordinarily ſeek for it in the extremities. Nor can I wonder that thoſe ages were ſo fertile in what they called Hereſies, when being given to meddling with the Myſteries of Religion further then humane apprehenſion or divine revelation did or could lead them,

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ſome of the Biſhops were ſo ignorant and groſs, but others ſo ſpeculative, acute and refining in their conceptions, that, there being moreover a good fat Biſhoprick to boot in the caſe, it is rather admirable to me how all the Clergy from one end to tother, could eſcape from being or being accounted Hereticks. *Alexander* hereupon *Soz.* l. 1. c. 14°. inſtead of ſtilling by more prudent Methods this new Controverſy, took, doubtleſs with a very good intention, a courſe that hath ſeldom been ſucceſsful: makes himſelf judg of that wherein he had firſt been the Party, and calling to him ſome others of his Clergy, would needs ſit in publick to have a ſolemn ſet Diſputation about the whole Matter. And while *Arrius* was at it Tooth and Nail againſt his oppoſers, and the Arguments flew ſo thick that they darkned the Air, and no Man could yet judg which ſide ſhould have the victory; the good Biſhop for his part ſate hay now hay, neither could tell in his Conſcience of a long time which had the better of it; but ſometimes he lean'd on one ſide and then on the other, and now incouraged and commended thoſe of one party, and preſently the contrary, but at laſt by his own weight the caſt the Scales againſt *Arrius*. And from thence forward he excommunicating *Arrius* for obſtinacy, and *Arrius* writing in behalf and his followers to the Biſhops, each one ſtating his own and his adverſaries caſe with the uſual candor of ſuch men in ſuch Matters; the Biſhops too all over began to divide upon it, and after them their people. Inſomuch that *Conſtantine* out of a true paternal Senſe and care, found neceſſary to ſend a very prudent and eminent Perſon to *Alexandria*, to try if he could accommodate the matter, giving him a Letter to *Alexander* and *Arrius*; how diſcreet, how Chriſtian-like, I never read any thing of that nature equal to it! It is too long for me here to inſert, but I gladly recommend my Reader to it in the 2° *Euſ.* de vitâ *Conſt.* c. 67. where he begins *I underſtand the foundation of the controverſy to have been this, that thou* Alexander *didſt inquire of thy Prieſts concerning a paſſage in the Scripture, nay didſt ask them concerning a frivolous quillet of a queſtion what was each of their opinions: and thou* Arrius *didſt inconſiderately babble what thou neither at the beginning couldſt conceive, and if thou hadſt conceived ſo, oughtſt* not to have vented, &c.

But the Clergy having got this once in the wind, there was no beating them off the ſcent. Which induced *Conſtantine* to think the convening of this Council the only remedy to theſe Diſorders. And a woful ado he had with them when they were met to manage and keep them in any tolerable *decorum*. It ſeemed like an Eccleſiaſtical Cock-pit, and a man might have laid wagers either way: the two parties contending in good earneſt either for the truth or the victory, but the more unconcerned, like cunning Betters, ſate judiciouſly hedging, and ſo ordered their matters that which ſide ſoever prevail'd, they would be ſure to be the Winners. They were indeed a moſt venerable Aſſembly, compoſed of ſome holy, ſome grave, ſome wiſe, and ſome of them learned Perſons: and *Conſtantine* had ſo charitably burnt the accuſations they intended againſt one another, which might otherwiſe have depopulated and diſpirited the Council, that all of them may be preſumed in one or other reſpect to have made

a great Character. But I obſerve *Soz.* l. 1. c. 16. that theſe great Biſhops, although they only had the deciſive voices, yet thought fit to bring along with them certain men that were cunning at an Argument, to be auxiliary to them when it came to hard and tough Diſputation; beſide that they had their Prieſts and Deacons ready at a dead lift always to aſſiſt them: So that their underſtandings ſeem'd to be ſequeſter'd, and for their dayly Faith, they depended upon what their Chaplains would allow them. And in that quality *Athanaſius* there waited upon *Alexander*, being his Deacon, (for as yet it ſeems Arch-biſhops nor Arch-deacons were invented.) And it is not improbable that *Athanaſius* having ſo early perſonated the Biſhop, and ſeeing the declining age of *Alexander*, would be careful that *Arrius* ſhould not ſtep betwixt him and home upon vacancy, but did his beſt againſt him to barr up his way, as it ſhortly after happened; *Athanaſius* ſucceeding after the Council in the See of *Alexandria*. In the mean time you may imagine that *Hypoſtaſis*, *Perſona*, *Subſtantia*, *Subſiſtentia*, *Eſſentia*, *Coeſſentialis*, *Conſubſtantialis*, *Ante ſæcula Coæternus*, &c. were by ſo many diſputants pick'd to the very bones, and thoſe too broken afterwards to come to the marrow of Divinity. And never had *Conſtantine* in his life ſo hard a task as to bring them to any rational reſults: *meekly and patiently*, Euſeb. L. 3. c. 13. de vitâ Conſt. *liſ'ning to every one, taking each Man's opinion and without the acrimony with which it was delivered, helping each party where they diſagreed, reconciling them by degrees when they were in the fierceſt Contention, conferring with them a part courteouſly and mildly, telling them what was his own opinion of the matter:* Which though ſome exceptious perſons may alleadge to have been againſt the nature of a Free Council, yet truly unleſs he had taken that courſe, I cannot imagine how poſſibly he could ever have brought them to any concluſion. And thus this firſt, great, General Council of *Nice*, with which the world had gone big ſo long, and which look'd ſo big upon all Chriſtendom, at laſt was brought in bed, and after a very hard labor deliver'd of *Homoouſios*.

They all ſubſcribed to the New Creed, except ſome ſeventeen, who it ſeems had rather to be Hereticks then Biſhops. For now the *Anathema's* were publiſhed, and whoever held the contrary was to be puniſh'd by Deprivation and Baniſhment, all *Arrian* books to be burned, and whoever ſhould be diſcover'd to conceal any of *Arrius* his writings, to dye for it. But it fared very well with thoſe who were not ſuch fools as to own his opinion. All they were entertain'd by the Emperor at a magnificent Feaſt, receiv'd from his hand rich Preſents, and were honorably diſmiſt, with Letters recommending their great Abilities and performance to the Provinces, and injoyning the *Nicene* Creed to be henceforth obſerved. With that ſtroke of the Pen: *Socr.* l. 1. c. 6. *For what three hundred Biſhops have agreed on,* (a thing indeed extraordinary) *ought not to be otherwiſe conceiv'd of then as the decree of God Almighty, eſpecially ſeeing the Holy Ghoſt did ſit upon the minds of ſuch and ſo excellent men, and open'd his divine will to them.* So that they went I trow with ample ſatisfaction; and, as they could not but take the Emperor for a very civil, ge-

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nerous, and obliging Gentleman, so they thought the better of themselves from that day forward. And how budge must they look when they returned back to their Dioceſſes, having every one of 'm been a principal limn of the *Æcumenical*, *Apoſtolical*, *Catholick*, *Orthodox* Council! When the Catachreſtical titles of the Church and the Clergy were so appropriate to them by cuſtom, that the Chriſtian people had relinquiſhed or forgotten their claim; when every Hare that croſſed their way homeward was a Schiſmatick or an Heretick, and if their Horſe ſtumbled with one of them, he incurr'd an Anathema. Well it was that their journeys laid so many ſeveral ways, for they were grown so cumberſom and great, that the Emperor's highway was too narrow for any two of them, and there could have been no paſſage without the removal of a Biſhop. But ſoon after the Council was over, *Euſebius* the Biſhop of *Nicomedia*, and *Theognis* the Biſhop of *Nice*, who were already removed both by baniſhment and two others put in their places, were quickly reſtor'd upon their petition: wherein they ſuggeſted the cauſe of their not Signing to have been only, becauſe they thought they could not with a ſafe conſcience ſubſcribe the Anathema againſt *Arrius*, appearing to them both by his writings, his diſcourſes, and Sermons that they had been auditors of, not to be guilty of thoſe errors. As for *Arrius* himſelf, the Emperor quickly wrote to him. *It is now a conſiderable time ſince I writ to your Gravity to come to my Tents, that you might injoy my countenance; ſo that I can ſcarce wonder ſufficiently why you have ſo long delaid it: therefore now take one of the publick Coaches and make all ſpeed to my Tents, that, having had experience of my kindneſs and affection to you, you may return into your own Country. God preſerve you moſt dear Sir.* *Arrius* hereupon (with his comarade *Euzoius*) comes to *Conſtantine*'s Army, and offers him a petition, with a confeſſion of Faith that would have paſs'd very well before the *Nicene* Council, and now ſatisfied the Emperor *Socr.* l. 1. c. 19. & 20. inſomuch that he writ to *Anathaſius*, now Biſhop of *Alexandria*, to receive him into the Church: but *Anathanaſius* was of better mettle then ſo and abſolutely refus'd it. Upon this *Conſtantine* writ him another threat'ning Letter: *When you have underſtood hereby my pleaſure*, ſee that you afford free entrance into the Church to all that deſire it: for if I ſhall underſtand that any who deſires to be admitted into the Church ſhould be either hindred or forbidden by you, I will ſend ſome one of my Servants to remove you from your *Degree*, and place another in your ſtead. Yet *Athanaſius* ſtood it out ſtill, though other Churches received him into Communion: and the Heretick *Novatus* could not have been more unrelenting to lapſed Chriſtians then he was to *Arrius*. But this, joyned with other crimes which were laid to *Athanaſius* his charge, at the Council of *Tyre*, (though I ſuppoſe indeed they were forged) made *Athanaſius* glad to fly for it, and remain the firſt time in exile. Upon this whole matter it is my impartial opinion that *Arrius* or whoſoever elſe were guilty of teaching and publiſhing thoſe errors whereof he was accuſed, deſerved the utmoſt Severity which conſiſts with the Chriſtian Religion. And ſo willing I have been to think well of *Athanaſius* and

ill of the other, that I have on purpose avoided the reading, as I do the nameing, of a book that I have hear'd tells the story quite otherwise, and have only made use of the current Historians of those times, who all of them tell it against the *Arrians*. Only I will confess, that as in reading a particular History at adventure a Man finds himself inclinable to favor the weaker party, especially if the Conqueror appear insolent; so have I been affected in reading these Authors: which does but resemble the reasonable pity that men ordinarily have too for those who though for an erroneous conscience suffer under a Christian Magistrate. And as soon as I come to *Constantius*, I shall for that reason change my compassion and be doubly ingaged on the Orthodox party. But as to the whole matter of the Council of *Nice*, I must crave liberty to say, that from one end to the other, though the best of the kind, it seems to me to have been a pityful humane business, attended with all the ill circumstances of other worldly affairs, conducted by a spirit of ambition and contention, the first and so the greatest Œcumenical blow that by Christians was given to Christianity. And it is not from any sharpness of humor that I discourse thus freely of Things and Persons, much less of Orders of men otherwise venerable, but that where ought is extolled beyond reason and to the prejudice of Religion, it is necessary to depreciate it by true proportion. It is not their censure of *Arianism*, or the declaring of their opinion in a controverted point to the best of their understanding, (wherein to the smalness of mine they appear to have light upon the truth, had they likewise upon the measure,) that could have moved me to tell so long a story, or bring my self within the danger and aim of any capious Reader, speaking thus with great liberty of mind but little concern for any prejudice I may receive, of things that are by some men *Idolized*. But it is their Imposition of a new Article or Creed upon the Christian world, not being contained in expres words of Scripture, to be believed with Divine Faith, under Spiritual and Civil Penalties, contrary to the Priviledges of Religion and their making a Precedent follow'd and improv'd by all succeeding ages for most cruel Persecutions, that only could animate me. In digging thus for a new Deduction they undermined the fabrick of Christianity; to frame a particular Doctrine they departed from the general Rule of their Religion; and for their curiosity about an Article concerning *Christ*, they violated our Saviour's first Institution of a Church not subject to any Addition in matters of Faith, nor liable to Compulsion either in Belief or in Practice. Farr be it from me in the event as it is from my Intention, to derogate from the just authority of any of those Creeds or Confessions of Faith that are receiv'd by our Church upon clear agreement with the Scriptures: nor shall I therefore, unless some mens impertinence and indiscretion hereafter oblige me, pretend to any further knowledg of what in those particulars appears in the ancient Histories. But certainly if any Creed had been Necessary, or at least Necessary to have been Imposed, our Saviour himself would not have left his Church destitute in a thing of that moment. Or however, after the Holy Ghost, upon his departure, was descended upon the Apostles, and *They the Elders and Brethren*

thren (for ſo it was then) were aſſembled in a legitime Council at *Jeruſalem*, *it would have ſeemed good to the Holy Ghoſt and them* to have ſaved the Council of *Nice* that labor, Or at leaſt the Apoſtle *Paul* 2 Cor. 12. 2. and 4. *who was caught up into Paradiſe, and heard unſpeakable words, which it is not lawful for any man to utter*, having thereby a much better opportunity then *Athanaſius* to know the Doctrine of the Trinity, would not have been wanting, *through the abundance of that revelation*, to form a Creed for the Church, ſufficient to have put that buſineſs beyond controverſy. Eſpecially ſeeing Hereſies were ſprung up ſo early, and he foreſaw others, and therefore does preſcribe the method how they are to be dealt with, but no Creed that I read of.

Shall any ſort of men preſume to interpret thoſe words, which to him were unſpeakable, by a Gibbriſh of their Impoſing, and force every man to Cant after them what it is not lawful for any man to utter? *Chriſt* and his Apoſtles ſpeak articulately enough in the Scriptures, without any Creed, as much as we are or ought to be capable of. And the Miniſtry of the Goſpel is uſeful and moſt neceſſary, if it were but to preſs us to the reading of them, to illuſtrate one place by the authority of another, to inculcate thoſe duties which are therein required, quickning us both to Faith and Practice, and ſhowing within what bounds they are both circumſcribed by our Saviour's Doctrine. And it becomes every man to be able to give a reaſon and account of his Faith, and to be ready to do it, without officiouſly gratifying thoſe who demand it only to take advantage: and the more Chriſtians can agree in one confeſſion of Faith the better. But that we ſhould believe ever the more for a Creed, it cannot be expected. In thoſe days when Creeds were moſt plenty and in faſhion, and every one had them at their fingers-ends, 'twas the Bible that brought in the Reformation. 'Tis true, a man would not ſtick to take two or three Creeds for a need, rather then want a Living, and if a man have not a good ſwallow, 'tis but wrapping them up in a Liturgy, like a wafer, and the whole doſe will go down currently; eſpecially if he wink at the ſame time and give his Aſſent and Conſent without ever looking on them. But without jeſting, for the matter is too ſerious. Every man is bound to *work out his own Salvation with fear and trembling*, and therefore to uſe all helps poſſible for his beſt ſatisfaction: hearing, conferring, reading, praying for the aſſiſtance of God's Spirit; but when he hath done this, he is his own Expoſitor, his own both Miniſter and People, Biſhop and Dioceſs, his own Council; and his Conſcience excuſing or condemning him, accordingly he eſcapes or incurs his own internal Anathema. So that when it comes once to a Creed, made and Impoſed by other men as a matter of Divine Faith, the Caſe grows very delicate; while he cannot apprehend, though the Impoſer may, that all therein is clearly contained in Scripture, and may fear being caught in the expreſſions to oblige himſelf to a latitude or reſtriction, further then comports with his own ſenſe and judgment. A Chriſtian of honor, when it comes to this once, will weigh every word, every ſyllable, nay further, if he conſider that the great buſineſs of this Coun-

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cil of *Nice* was but one ſingle Letter of the Alphabet, about the inſerting or omitting of an *Iota*. There muſt be either that exactneſs in the Form of ſuch a Creed, as I dare ſay, no men in the world ever were or ever will be able to modulate: or elſe this ſcrupulous private judgment muſt be admitted, or otherwiſe all Creeds become meer inſtruments of Equivocation or Perſecution. And I muſt confeſs, when I have ſometimes conſidered with my ſelf the dulneſs of the Non-conformiſts, and the acuteneſs on the contrary of the Epiſcoparians, and the conſcientiouſneſs of both; I have thought that our Church might ſafely wave the difference with them about Ceremonies, and try it out upon the Creeds, which were both the more honorable way, and more ſuitable to the method of the ancient Councils, and yet perhaps might do their buſineſs as effectually. For one that is a Chriſtian in good earneſt, when a Creed is Impoſed, will ſooner eat fire then take it againſt his judgment. There have been Martyrs for Reaſon, and it was manly in them: but how much more would men be ſo for reaſon Religionated and Chriſtianized! But it is an inhumane and unchriſtian thing of thoſe Faith-ſtretchers, whoſoever they be, that either put mens Perſons or their Conſciences upon the torture, to rack them to the length of their Notions: whereas the *Bereans* are made Gentlemen and Innobled by Patent in the *Acts*, becauſe they would not credit *Paul* himſelf, whoſe writings now make ſo great a part of the New Teſtament, untill *they* had *ſearched the Scripture dayly whether thoſe things were ſo, and therefore many of them believed.* And therefore, although where there are ſuch Creeds, Chriſtians may for peace and conſcience-ſake acquieſce while there appears nothing in them flatly contrary to the words of the Scripture: yet when they are obtruded upon a man in particular, he will look very well about him and not take them upon any Humane Authority. The greateſt Pretenſe to Authority is in a Council. But what then? ſhall all Chriſtians therefore take their Formularies of Divine Worſhip or Belief, upon truſt, as writ in Tables of Stone, like the Commandments, deliver'd from Heaven and to be obeyed in the inſtant not conſidered: becauſe three hundred and eighteen Biſhops are met in *Abraham*'s great Hall, of which moſt muſt be ſervants and ſome children, and they have reſolv'd upon't in ſuch a manner? No, a good Chriſtian will not, cannot attorn and indenture his conſcience over, to be Repreſented by others. It is not as in Secular matters, where the States of a Kingdom are deputed by their fellow Subjects to tranſact for them, ſo in ſpiritual: or ſuppoſe it were, yet 'twere neceſſary, as in the *Poliſh* conſtitution, that nothing ſhould be obligatory as long as there is one Diſſenter, where no Temporal Intereſts, but every man's Eternity and Salvation are concerned. The Soul is too precious to be let out at intereſt upon any humane ſecurity, that does or may fail, but it is only ſafe when under God's cuſtody, in its own Cabinet. But it was a General Council. A ſpecial general indeed if you conſider the proportion of three hundred and eighteen, to the body of the Chriſtian Clergy, but much more to all Chriſtian Mankind. But it was a general Free Council of Biſhops. I do not think it poſſible for any Council to be free that is compoſed only of Biſhops,

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and where they only have the Decisive Voces. Nor that a Free Council that takes away Christian Liberty. But that, as it was founded upon Usurpation, so it terminated in Imposition. But 'tis meant that it was Free from all external Impulsion. I confess that good meat and drink, and lodging, and money in a Man's purse, and coaches and Servants, and horses to attend them, did no violence to 'm, nor was there any false Article in it. And discoursing now with one and then another of 'm in particular, and the Emperor telling them this is my opinion, I understand it thus, and afterwards declaring his mind frequently to them in publick; no force neither. Ay! but there was a shrewd way of persuasion in it. And I would be glad to know when ever and which free general Council it was that could properly be called so: but was indeed a meer Imperial or Ecclesiastical Machine, no free agent, but wound up, set on going, and let dow by the direction and hand of the Workman. A General Free Council is but a word of Art, and can never happen but under a Fifth Monarch, and that Monarch too, to return from Heaven. The Animadverter will not allow the second General Council of *Nice* to have been Free, *because it was overawd by an Empress*, and was guilty of a great fault (which no Council at liberty he saith could have committed) the Decree for worshipping of Images. At this rate a Christian may scuffle however for one point among them, and chuse which council he likes best. But in good earnest I do not see but that *Constantine* might as well at this first council of *Nice*, have negotiated the Image worship, as to pay that superstitious adoration to the Bishops, and that Prostration to their Creeds was an Idolatry more pernicious in the consequence to the Christian Faith, then that under which they so lately had suffer'd Persecution. Nor can a council be said to have been at liberty which laid under so great and many obligations. But the Holy Ghost was present where there were three hundred and eighteen Bishops, and directed them or three hundred. Then, if I had been of their counsel, they should have sate at it all their lives, least they should never see him again after they were once risen. But it concerned them to settle their *Quorum* at first by his Dictates; otherwise no Bishop could have been absent or gone forth upon any occasion, but he let him out again: and it behoov'd to be very punctual in the Adjournments. 'Tis a ridiculous conception, and as grosse as to make him of the same Substance with the Council. Nor needs there any strong argument of his absence, then their pretense to be actuated by him, and in doing such Work. The Holy Spirit! If so many of them when they got together, acted like rational Men, 'twas enough in all reason and as much as could be expected.

But this was one affectation, among many others, which the Bishops took up so early, of the stile, priviledges, powers, and some actions and gestures peculiar and inherent to the Apostles, which they misplaced to their own behoof and usage: nay, and chalenged other things as Apostolical, that were directly contrary to the Doctrine and Practice of the Apostles. For so because the Holy Spirit did in an extraordinary manner preside among the Holy Apostles at that Legitime Council of *Jerusalem*, *Acts* 15. they, although under

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an ordinary Administration, would not go less whatever came on't: nay, whereas the Apostles, in the drawing up of their Decree dictated to them by the Holy Spirit, said therefore no more but thus: *The Apostles, Elders, and Brethren, send greeting unto the Brethren of, &c. Forasmuch as, &c. It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and us to lay upon you no greater burthen then these necessary things: that ye abstain from, &c. from which if ye keep your selves, you shall do well.* Fare ye well.

This Council denounces every invention of its own; (far from the Apostolical modesty, and the stile of the Holy Spirit) under no less then an Anathema. Such was their arroga ing to their inferior degrees the style of *Clergy*, till custom hath so much prevailed, that we are at a loss how to speak properly either of the name or nature of their function. Whereas the *Clergy*, in the true and Apostolical sense, were only those whom they superciliously always call the *Laity*: The word *Clerus* being never but once used in the New Testament, and in that signification, and in a very unlucky place too, *Peter* 1. 5. 3. where he admonishes the Priesthood, *that they should not Lord it or domineer over*, the Christian People, *Clerum Domini* or *the Lord's Inheritance*. But having usurp'd the Title, I confess they did right to assume the Power. But to speak of the Priesthood in that style which they most affect, if we consider the nature too of their Function, what were the *Clergy* then but Lay-men disguis'd, drest up perhaps in another habit? Did not St. *Paul* himself, being a Tent-maker, rather then be idle or burthensom to his People, work of his trade, even during his Apostleship, to get his living? But did not these, that they might neglect their holy vocation, seek to compass secular imployments, and Lay Offices? Were not very many of them, whether one respect their Vices or Ignorance, as well qualified as any other to be Laymen? Was it not usual as oft as they merited it to restore them, as in the case even of the three Bishops, to the Lay-communion? And whether, if they were so peculiar from others, did the Imposition of the Bishops hands, or the lifting up the hands of the Laity conferr more to that distinction? And *Constantine*, notwithstanding his complement at the burning of the Bishops papers, thought he might make them and unmake them with the same power as he did his other Lay-Officers. But if the inferior degrees were the *Clergy*, the Bishops would be the Church: although that word in the Scripture-sense is proper only to a congregation of the Faithful. And being by that title the only men in Ecclesiastical councils, then when they were once assembled they were the *Catholick Church*, and, having the Holy Spirit at their devotion, whatsoever Creed they light upon, that was the *Catholick Faith, without believing of which no man be saved*. By which means there rose thenceforward so constant persecutions till this day, that, had not the little invisible *Catholick Church* and a People that always search'd and believ'd the Scriptures, made a stand by their Testimonies and sufferings, the Creeds had destroyd the Faith: and the Church had ruined the Religion. For this General council of *Nice* and all others of the same constitution, did, and can serve to no other end or effect, then particular order of men by their usurpings

ping a truſt upon Chriſtianity, to make their own Price and Market of it, and deliver it up as oft as they ſee their own Advantage.

For ſcarce was *Conſtantine's* Head cold, but his Son *Conſtantius*, ſucceeding his Brothers, being Influenced by the Biſhops of the *Arrian* Party, turn'd the wrong ſide of Chriſtianity outward, inverted the Poles of Heaven, and Faith (if I may ſay ſo) with its Heels in the Air, was forced to ſtand upon its Head, and play Gambols, for the Divertiſment and Pleaſure of the *Homoiouſians*. *Arrianiſm* was the Divinity then in Mode, and he was an ignorant and ill Courtier, or Church man, that could not dreſs, and would not make a new Sute for his Conſcience in the Faſhion. And now the Orthodox Biſhops (it being given to thoſe Men to be obſtinate for Power, but flexible in Faith;) began to wind about inſenſibly, as the *Heliotrope Flower* that keeps its ground, but wreſts its Neck in turning after the warm Sun, from Day-break to Evening. They could look now upon the Synod of *Nice* with more indifference, and all that pudder that had been made there betwixt *Homoouſios* and *Homoiouſios*, &c. began to appear to them *as a Difference only ariſing from the Inadequation of Languages*: Till by degrees they were drawn over, and, rather than loſe their Biſhopricks, would joyn, and at laſt be the Headmoſt in the Perſecution of their own former Party. But the Deacons, to be ſure, that ſteer'd the Elephants, were thorow-paced, Men to be reckon'd and relied upon in this or any other occaſion, and would prick on to render themſelves Capable and Epiſcopable, upon the firſt Vacancy. For now the *Arrians* in grain, ſcorning to come behind the Clowniſh *Homoouſians*, in any Eccleſiaſtical Civility, were reſolved to give them their full of Perſecution. And it ſeem'd a piece of Wit rather than Malice, to pay them in their own Coyn, and to *Burleſque* them in earneſt, by the repetition and heightning of the ſame Severities upon them, that they had practiſed upon others. Had you the *Homoouſians* a Creed at *Nice*? We will have another Creed for you at *Ariminum*, and at *Seleucia*. Would you not be content with ſo many ſeveral Projects of Faith conſonant to Scripture, unleſs you might thruſt the new word *Homoouſios* down our throats, and then tear it up again, to make us confeſs it? Tell us the word, ('twas *Homoiouſios*) we are now upon the Guard, or elſe we ſhall run you thorow. Would you Anathemize, Baniſh, Impriſon, Execute us, and burn our Books? You ſhall taſte of this Chriſtian Fare, and as you reliſh it, you ſhall have more on't provided. And thus it went, *Arrianiſm* being Triumphant, but the few ſincere or ſtomachful Biſhops, adhering conſtantly, and with a true Chriſtian Magnanimity, eſpecially *Athanaſius*, thorow all Sufferings unto their former Confeſſions; expiated ſo in ſome meaſure, what they had committed in the *Nicene* Council.

Sozomene, l. 4. c. 25. Firſt tells us a ſtory of *Eudoxius*, who ſucceeded *Macedonius*, in the Biſhoprick of *Conſtantinople*; that in the Cathedral of *Sancta Sophia*, being mounted in his Epiſcopal Throne, the firſt time that they Aſſembled for its Dedication, in the very beginning of his Sermon to the People (thoſe things were already come in Faſhion) told them: *Patrem impium eſſe,*

Filium autem pium; at which when they began to bustle, *Pray be quiet*, saith he; I say, *Patrem impium esse, quia Colit neminem, Filiem vero Pium quia colit Patrem*; at which they then Laughed as heartily, as before they were Angry. But this I only note to this purpose, that there were some of the greatest Bishops among the *Homoiousians*, as well as the *Homoousians*, that could not reproach one anothers Simplicity, and that it was not impossible for the *Many*, to be Wiser and more Orthodox than the *Few*, in Divine Matters. That which I cite him for as most Material, is, his Remark upon the Imposition then of contrary Creeds: *Which verily*, saith he, *was plainly the beginning of most great Calamities, for as much as hereupon there followed a Disturbance, not unlike those which we before recited over the whole Empire; and likewise a Persecution equal almost to that of the Heathen Emperors, seized upon all of all Churches. For, although it seemed to some more gentle for what concerns the Torture of the Body, yet to prudent Persons it appeared more bitter and severe, by reason of the Dishonor and Ignominy. For both they who stirred up, and those that were afflicted with this Persecution, were of the Christian Church. And the Grievance therefore was the greater and more ugly, in that the same things which are done among Enemies, were Executed between those of the same Tribe and Profession: But the Holy Law forbids us to carry our selves in that manner, even to those that are Without, and Aliens.* And all this Mischief sprung from making of Creeds, with which the Bishops, as it were at *Tilting*, aim'd to hit one another in the Eye, and throw the opposite Party out of the Saddle. But if it chanced that the weaker side were ready to yield, (for what sort of Men was there that could better Manage, or had their Consciences more at command at that time than the Clergy?) Then the *Arrians* would use a yet longer, thicker, and sharper Lance for the purpose, (for there were never Vacancies sufficient) that they might be sure to run them down, over, and thorow, and do their Business. The Creed of *Arimimum* was now too short for the Design, but, saith the Historian, they affix'd *further Articles like Labels to it, pretending to have made it better, and so sent it thorow the Empire with* Constantius *his Proclamation, that whoever would not Subscribe it, should be banished.* Nay, they would not admit their own beloved *Similis Substantia*, but, to do the Work throughly, the *Arrians* renounc'd their own Creed for Malice, and made it an Article; *Filium Patri tam substantia, quam Voluntate, Dissimilem esse.* But that is a small matter with any of them, provided thereby they may do Service to the Church, that is their Party. So that one (seriously speaking) that were really Orthodox, could not then defend the Truth or himself, but by turning old *Arrian*, if he would impugn the new ones; such was the Subtilty. What shall I say more? As the Arts of Glass Coaches and Perriwgs illustrate this Age, so by their Trade of Creed-making, then first Invented, we may esteem the Wisdom of *Constantine's*, and *Constantius* his Empire. And in a short space, as is usual among Tradesmen, where it appears Gainful, they were so many that set up of the same Profession, that they could scarce live by one another.

Socr.

Socr. l. 2. *c.* 32. Therefore uſes theſe words: *But now that I have* tandem aliquando, *run through this Labyrinth of ſo many Creeds, I will gather up their number:* And ſo reckons Nine Creeds more, beſides that of *Nice*, before the death of *Conſtantius*, (a bleſſed Number.) And I believe, I could for a need, make them up a Dozen, if Men have a mind to buy them ſo. And hence it was that *Hilary*, then Biſhop of *Poictiers*, repreſents that ſtate of the Church pleaſantly, yet ſadly, *Since the* Nicene *Synod*, ſaith he, *we do nothing but write Creeds. That while we fight about words, whilſt we raiſe Queſtions about Novelties, while we Quarrel about things doubtful, and about Authors, while we contend in Parties, while there is difficulty in Conſent, while we Anathematize one another, there is none now almoſt that is* Chriſt's. *What a Change there is in the laſt years Creed? The firſt Decree commands, that* Homoouſios *ſhould not be mentioned. The next does again Decree and Publiſh* Homoouſios. *The third does by Indulgence excuſe the Word* Ouſia, *as uſed by the Fathers in their ſimplicity. The fourth does not Excuſe, but Condemn it. It is come to that at laſt, that nothing among us, or thoſe before us, can remain Sacred or inviolable. We Decree every Year of the Lord, a new Creed concerning God: Nay, every Change of the Moon our Faith is alter'd. We repent of our Decrees, we defend thoſe that repent of them; we Anathemize thoſe that we defended, and while we either condemn other Mens Opinions in our own, or our own Opinions in thoſe of other Men, and bite at one another, we are now all of us torn in pieces.* This Biſhop ſure was the Author of *the Naked Truth*, and 'twas he that *implicitly condemn'd the whole Catholick Church, both* Eaſt *and* Weſt, *for being too preſumptuous in her Definitions.*

It is not ſtrange to me, that *Julian*, being but a Reader in the Chriſtian Church, ſhould turn *Pagan*: Eſpecially when I conſider that he ſucceeded Emperor after *Conſtantius*. For it ſeems rather unavoidable that a Man of great Wit, as he was, and not having the Grace of God to direct it, and ſhow him the Beauty of Religion, through the Deformity of its Governours and Teachers; but that he muſt conceive a Loathing and Averſion for it, Nor could he think that he did them any Injuſtice, when he obſerved that, beſide all their Unchriſtian Immorality too, they Practiſed thus, againſt the Inſtitutive Law of their *Galilean*, the Perſecution among themſelves for Religion. And well might he add to his other Severities, that ſharpneſs of his Wit, both *Expoſing* and *Animadverting* upon them, at another rate than any of the Modern Practitioners with all their Study and Inclination, can ever arrive at. For nothing is more puniſhable, Contemptible, and truly Ridiculous, than a Chriſtian that walks contrary to his Profeſſion: And by how much any Man ſtands with more advantage in the Church for Eminency, but diſobeys the Laws of *Chriſt* by that Privileg, he is thereby, and deſerves to be the more Expoſed. But *Julian*, the laſt Heathen Emperor, by whoſe Cruelty it ſeemed that God would ſenſibly Admoniſh once again the Chriſtian Clergy, and ſhow them by their own Smart, and an Heathen Hand, the nature and odiouſneſs of Perſecution, ſoon died, as is uſual for Men of that Employment, not without a remarkable ſtroke of God's Judgment.

Yet they, as if they were only sorry that they had lost so much time, upon his death strove as eagerly to redeem it, and forthwith fell in very naturally into their former Animosities. For *Jovianus* being chosen Emperor in *Persia*, and returning Homeward, *Socr. l.* 3. *c.* 20. the Bishops of each Party, in hopes that their's should be the Imperial Creed, strait to Horse, and Rode away with Switch and Spur, as if it had been for the Plate, to meet him; and he that had best Heels, made himself cock-sure of winning the Religion. The *Macedonians*, who dividing from the *Arrians*, had set up for a new Heresie concerning the Holy Ghost, (and they were a Squadron of Bishops) Petition'd him that those who held, *Filium Patri dissimilem*, might be turn'd out, and themselves put in their places: Which was very honestly done, and aboveboard. The *Acacians*, that were the refined *Arrians*, but, as the Author saith, *Had a notable faculty of addressing themselves to the Inclination of whatsoever Emperor*, and having good Intelligence that he balanced rather to the *Consubstantials*, presented him with a very fair Insinuating Subscription, of a considerable number of Bishops to the Council of *Nice*. But in the next Emperor's time they will be found to yield little Reverence to their own Subscription. For in matter of a Creed, a Note of their Hand, without expressing the Penalty, could not it seems Bind one of their Order. But all that *Jovianus* said to the *Macedonians*, was; *I hate Contention, but I lovingly imbrace and reverence those who are inclined to Peace and Concord.* To the *Acacians*, who had wisely given these the precedence of Application, to try the truth of their Intelligence, he said no more *(having resolv'd by sweetness and persuasions to quiet all their Controversies)* but, *That he would not molest any Man whatsoever Creed he follow'd, but those above others he would Cherish and Honor, who should show themselves most forward in bringing the Church to a good Agreement.* He likewise call'd back all those Bishops who had been Banished by *Constantius* and *Julian*, restoring them to their Sees. And he writ a Letter in particular to *Athanasius*, who upon *Julian*'s death, had enter'd again upon that of *Alexandria*, to bid him be of good Courage. *And these things coming to the Ears of all others, did wonderfully assuage the Fierceness of those who were Inflamed with Faction and Contention:* So that, the Court having declared it self of this Mind, the Church was in a short time in all outward appearance peaceably disposed; the Emperor by this Means having wholly repressed all their Violence. *Verily*, concludes the Historian, *the* Roman *Empire had been prosperous and happy, and both the State and the Church* (he puts them too in that Order) *under so good a Prince, must have exceedingly flourished, had not an Immature death taken him away from managing the Government. For after seven Months, being seized with a mortal Obstruction, he departed this Life.* Did not this Historian, trow you, deserve to be handled, and is it not, *now the Mischief is done, to undo the Charm, become a* Duty, *to* Expose both *him* and *Jovianus*? *By their ill chosen Principles what would have become of the Prime, and most necessary Articles of Faith? Might not the old Dormant Heresies, all of them safely have Revived?*

But

But that *Mortal Obſtruction* of the Biſhops, was not by his death (nor is it by their own to be) removed. They were glad he was ſo ſoon got out of their way, and God would yet further manifeſt their intractable Spirit, which not the Perſecution of the Heathen Emperor *Julian*, nor the Gentleneſs of *Jovianus* the Chriſtian, could allay or mitigate by their Afflictions or Proſperity. The Divine *Nemeſis* executed Juſtice upon them, by one anothers Hand: And ſo hainous a Crime as for a Chriſtian, a Biſhop, to Perſecute, ſtood yet need, as the only equal and exemplary Puniſhment, of being Revenged with a Perſecution by Chriſtians, by Biſhops. And whoever ſhall ſeriouſly conſider all along the Succeſſion of the Emperors, can never have taken that Satisfaction in the moſt judicious Repreſentations of the Scene, which he may in this worthy Speculation of the great Order and admirable conduct of Wiſe Providence, through the whole contexture of theſe Exterior, ſeeming Accidents, relating to the Eccleſiaſticals of Chriſtianity.

For to *Jovianus* ſucceeded *Valentinian*, who in a ſhort time took his Brother *Valens* to be his Companion in the Empire. Theſe two Brothers, did as the Hiſtorian obſerves, *Socr. l.* 4. *c.* 1. (alike, and equally take care at the beginning, for the Advantage and Government of the State) but very much diſagreed, though both Chriſtians, in matter of Religion: *Valetinianus* the Elder being an *Orthodox*, but *Valens* an *Arrian*, and they uſed a different Method toward the Chriſtians. For *Valentinian* (who choſe the Weſtern part of the Empire, and left the Eaſt to his Brother) as he imbraced thoſe of his own Creed, ſo yet he did not in the leaſt moleſt the *Arrians*: But *Valens* not only Labor'd to increaſe the number of the *Arrians*, but Afflicted thoſe of the contrary Opinion with grievous Puniſhments. And both of 'm, eſpecially *Valens* had Biſhops for their purpoſe. The particulars of that heavy Perſecution under *Valens*, any one may further ſatisfy himſelf of in the Writers of thoſe Times: And yet it is obſervable, that within a little ſpace while he purſued the Orthodox Biſhops, he gave Liberty to the *Novatians*, (who were of the ſame Creed, but ſeparated from them, as I have ſaid, upon Diſcipline, &c.) and cauſed their Churches, which for a while were ſhut up, to be opened again at *Conſtantinople*. To be ſhort, *Valens* (who out-lived his Brother, that died of a natural Death,) himſelf in a battel againſt the *Goths*, could not eſcape neither the fate of a Chriſtian Perſecutor. *For the* Goths *having made Application to him, he*, ſaith Socrates, *not well fore-ſeeing the Conſequence, admitted them to Inhabit in certain places of* Thracia, *pleaſing himſelf that he ſhould by that means, always have an Army ready at hand againſt whatſoever Enemies; and that thoſe Foraign Guards would ſtrike them with a greater Terror, more by far than the* Militia *of his Subjects. And ſo, ſlighting the ancient Veterane* Militia, *which uſed to conſiſt of Bodies of Men raiſed proportionably in every Province, and were ſtout Fellows that would Fight Manfully; inſtead of them he levied Money, rating the Country at ſo much for every Souldier.* But theſe new Inmates of the Emperors ſoon grew Troubleſom, as is cuſtomary, and not only infeſted the Natives in *Thracia*, but Plunder'd even the Suburbs of *Conſtantinople*, there being no armed Force to repreſs them: Hereupon the whole

whole People of the City cried out at a publick Spectacle, where *Valens* was preſent neglecting this matter, *Give us Arms and we will manage this War our ſelves.* This extreamly provok'd him, ſo that he forthwith made an Expedition againſt the *Goths*: But *Threatned the* Citizens *if he turn'd in ſafety, to be Reveng'd on them both for thoſe Contumelies, and for what under the Tyrant* Procopius, *they had committed againſt the Empire, and that he would Raze to the Ground, and Plow up the City. Yet before his departure, out of fear of the Foraign Enemy, he totally ceas'd from perſecuting the Orthodox in* Conſtantinople. *But he was kill'd in the Fight, or Flying into a Village that the* Goths *had ſet on fire, he was there burnt to aſhes:* to the great grief of his Biſhops, who, had he been Victorious, might have revived the Perſecution. Such was the end of his Impetuous Reign and raſh Counſels both as to his Government of State, in matters of Peace and War, and his Manage of the Church by Perſecution.

His death brings me to the Succeſſion of *Theodoſius* the *Great*, then whom no Chriſtian Emperor did more make it his buſineſs to Nurſe up the Church, and to Lull the Biſhops, to keep the Houſe in quiet. But neither was it in his power to ſtill their Bawling, and Scratching one another, as far as their Nails (which were yet more tender, but afterwards grew like Tallons) would give them leave. I ſhall not further vex the Hiſtory, or the Reader, in recounting the Particulars; taking no delight neither my ſelf in ſo uncomfortable Relations, or to reflect beyond what is neceſſary upon the Wolfiſhneſs of thoſe which then ſeemed, and ought to have been, the Chriſtian Paſtors, but went on ſcattering their Flocks, if not devouring; and the Shepherds ſmiting one another. In his Reign, the ſecond General Council was called, that of *Conſtantinople*, and the Creed was there made which took its name from the place: The reſt of their buſineſs, any one that is further curious, may obſerve in the Writers. But I ſhall cloſe this with a ſhort touch concerning *Gregory Nazianzen*, then living, than whom alſo the Chriſtian Church had not in thoſe times (and I queſtion whether in any ſucceeding) a Biſhop that was more a Chriſtian, more a Gentleman, better appointed in all ſorts of Learning requiſite, ſeaſoned under *Julian*'s Perſecution, and exemplary to the higheſt pitch of true Religion, and Practical Piety. The eminence of theſe Vertues, and in ſpecial of his Humility (the lowlieſt but the higheſt of all Chriſtian Qualifications) raiſed him under *Theodoſius*, from the Pariſh-like Biſhoprick of *Nazianzum*, to that of *Conſtantinople*, where he fill'd his place in that Council. But having taken notice in what manner things were carried in that, as they had been in former Councils, and that ſome of the Biſhops muttered at his promotion; he of his own mind reſigned that great Biſhoprick, which was never of his deſire or ſeeking, and, though ſo highly ſeated in the Emperors Reverence and Favor, ſo acceptable to the People, and generally to the Clergy, whoſe unequal Abilities could not pretend or juſtifie an envy againſt him; retired back far more content to a Solitary Life to his little *Nazianzum*. And from thence he writes that Letter to his Friend *Procopius*, wherein, p. 814. upon his moſt recollected and ſerious reflexion on what had faln within his obſerva-

tion, he uſeth theſe remarkable words: *I have reſolved with my ſelf (if I may tell you the* Naked *Truth,) never more to come into any aſſembly of Biſhops: for I never ſaw a good and happy end of any Council, but which rather increaſed then remedied the miſchieves. For their obſtinate Contentions and Ambition are unexpreſſible.*

It would require too great a Volume to deduce, from the death of *Theodoſius*, the particulars that happened in the ſucceeding Reigns about this matter. But the Reader may reckon, that it was as ſtated a Quarrel betwixt the *Homooufians*, and the *Homoiouſians*, as that between the Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*: And there aroſe now an Emperor of one Line, and then again of the other. But among all the Biſhops, there was not one *Morton*, whoſe *induſtrious Brain could or would* (for ſome Men always reap by Diviſion) *make up the fatal Breach betwixt* the two Creeds. By this means every Creed was grown up to a Teſt, and, under that pretence, the dextrous Biſhops ſtep by ſtep hooked within their Verge, all the buſineſs and Power that could be catched in thoſe Turbulences, where they mudled the Water and Fiſhed after. By this means they ſtalked on firſt to a Spiritual kind of Dominion, and from that incroached upon and into the Civil Juriſdiction. A Biſhop now grew terrible, and, (whereas a ſimple Layman might have frighted the Devil with the firſt words of the Apoſtles Creed, and *I deſie thee Satan*) one Creed could not protect him from a Biſhop, and it required a much longer, and a double and treble Confeſſion, unleſs himſelf would be delivered over to *Satan* by an *Anathema*. But this was only an Eccleſiaſtical ſentence at firſt, with which they marked out ſuch as ſinned againſt them, and then whoop'd and hollow'd on the Civil Magiſtrate, to hunt them down for their Spiritual Pleaſure. They crept at firſt by Court Inſinuations and Flattery into the Princes favor, till thoſe generous Creatures ſuffered themſelves to be backed and ridden by them, who would take as much of a free Horſe as poſſible: but in Perſecution the Clergy as yet, wiſely interpoſed the Magiſtrate betwixt themſelves and the People, not caring ſo their end were attained, how odious they rendred him: And you may obſerve that for the moſt part hitherto, they ſtood crouching and ſhot either over the Emperors back, or under his belly. But in proceſs of Time they became bolder and open-fac'd, and Perſecuted before the Sun at Mid-day. Biſhops grew worſe, but Biſhopricks every day better and better. There was now no *Euſebius* left to refuſe the Biſhoprick of *Antiochia*, whom therefore *Conſtantine* told, *That he deſerv'd the Biſhoprick of the whole World for that Modeſty.* They were not ſuch Fools as *Ammonius Parotes*, I warrant you, in the time of *Theodoſius*. *He*, Socr. l. 6. c. 30. *being ſeiſed upon by ſome that would needs make him a Biſhop, when he could not perſwade them to the contrary, cut off one of his Ears, telling them that now, ſhould he himſelf deſire to be a Biſhop, he was by the Law of Prieſthood incapable: but when they obſerved that thoſe things only obliged the* Jewiſh *Prienſthood, and that the Church of* Chriſt *did not conſider whether a Prieſt were ſound or perfect in limb of Body, but only that he were intire in his manners; they return'd to ſeize on him again: But when he ſaw them coming, he ſwore with a ſolemn Oath, that, if to Conſe-*

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crate him a Bishop they laid violent hands upon him, he would cut out his tongue also; whereupon they, fearing he would do it, desisted. What should have been the matter, that a man so Learned and Holy, should have such an aversion to be promoted in his own Order; that, rather than yield to be a Compelled or Compelling Bishop, he would inflict upon himself as severe a Martyrdom, as any Persecutor could have done for him? Sure he saw somthing more in the very Constitution, than some do at present. But this indeed was an Example too Rigid, and neither fit to have been done, nor to be imitated, as there was no danger. For far from this they followed the precedent rather of *Damasus*, and *Ursinus*, which last, *Socr. l. 4. c. 24. In* Valentinian's *time, perswaded certain obscure and abject Bishops* (for there were it seems of all sorts and sizes) *to create him Bishop in a Corner, and then* (so early) *he and* Damasus, who was much the better Man: waged War for the Bishoprick of *Rome*, to the great scandal of the *Pagan* Writers, who made Remarks for this and other things upon their Christianity, and to the Bloodshed and Death of a multitude of the Christian People. But this last I mention'd, only as a weak and imperfect Essay in that time, of what it came to in the several Ages after, which I am now speaking of, when the Bishops were given, gave themselves, over to all manner of Vice, Luxury, Pride, Ignorance, Superstition, Covetousness, and Monopolizing of all secular Imployments and Authority. Nothing could escape them: They meddled, troubled themselves and others, with many things, every thing, forgetting that *one, only needful*. Insomuch that I could not avoid wondring often that, among so many Churches that with Paganick Rites, they dedicated to Saint *Mary*, I have met with none to Saint *Martha*. But above all, Imposition and Cruelty became inherent to them, and the power of Persecution was grown so good and desirable a thing, that they thought the Magistrate scarce worthy to be trusted with it longer, and a meer Novice at it, and either wrested it out of his hands, or gently eased him of that and his other burdens of Government. The Sufferings of the Laity were become the Royalties of the Clergy; and, being very careful Christians, the Bishops, that not a word of our Saviours might fall to the Ground, because he had foretold how Men should be Persecuted for his Names sake, they undertook to see it done effectually in their own Provinces, and out of pure zeal of doing him the more Service of this kind, inlarged studiously their Dioceses beyond all proportion. Like *Nostradamus* his Son, that to fulfil his Father's prediction of a City in *France*, that should be Burned; with his own hands set it on fire. All the calamities of the Christian World in those Ages, may be derived from them, while they warm'd themselves at the Flame; and, like Lords of Misrule, kept a perpetual *Christmas*. What in the Bishop's name is the matter? How came it about that Christianity, which approved itself under all Persecutions to the Heathen Emperors, and merited their Favor so far, till at last it regularly succeeded to the Monarchy, should under those of their own Profession be more distressed? Were there some Christians then too, that feared still lest Men should be Christians, and for whom *it was*

necessary

necessary, not for the Gospel reason *that they should be Heresies*. Let us collect a little now also in the conclusion what first was not particulariz'd, how the reason of State and Measure of Government stood under the Roman Emperours, in aspect to them. Tiberius, mention'd in the beginning of this Essay. *Trajane*, after having persecuted them, and having used *Pliny* the second in his Province to the purpose, upon his relation that they lived in conformity to all Lawes, but that at which forbad their Worship, and in all other things were blameless, and good men, straitly by his Edict commanded that none of them should be farther enquired after. *Hadrian*, in his Edict to *Minutius Fundanus*, Pro-consul of *Asia*, commands him that, *If any accuse the Christians, and can prove it, that they commit any thing against the State, that then punish them according to the crime: but if any man accuse them meerly for calumny and vexation, as Christians, then shall let him suffer for it, and take you care that he feel the smart of it.* *Antoninus Pius* writ his Edict, very remarkable if there were place here to recite it, to the States of *Asia* assembled at *Ephesus*; wherein he takes notice of his fathers command that, *unless the Christians were found to act any thing against the* Roman *Empire, they should not be molested*, and then commands *that, if any man thereafter shall continue to trouble them*, tanquam tales, *as Christians, for their Worship, in that case he that is the Informer should be exposed to punishment, but the accused should be free and discharged.* I could not but observe that among other things in this Edict, where he is speaking, *It is desirable to them that they may appear, being accused, more willing to dy for their God then to live*, he adds. *It would not be amiss to admonish you concerning the Earthquakes which have, and do now happen, that when you are afflicted at them, you would compare our affairs with theirs. They are thereby so much the more incouraged to a confidence and reliance upon God, but you all the while go on in your ignorance, and neglect both other gods, and the Religion towards the immortal, and banish and persecute them unto death.* Which words of that Emperours, fall in so naturally with what, it seems, was a common observation about Earthquakes, that I cannot but to that purpose take further notice, how also *Gregory Nazianzen*, in Or. 2d. *contra Gentiles*, tells, besides the breakings in of the Sea in several places, and many fires that happened, of the Earthquakes in particular, which he reckons as Symptomes of *Julian's* Persecution. And to this I may add, *Socr. l.* 3, *c.* 10. who in the Reign of *Valens*, that notorious Christian Persecutor, saith, at the same time there was an Earthquake in *Bithynia*, which ruined the City of *Nice*, (that same in which that general Counsel was held under *Constantine*) and a little after there was another. *But although these so happened, the minds of* Valens *and of* Eudoxius, *the Bishop of the* Arrians *were not at all stirred up unto Piety, and a right opinion of Religion: For nevertheless they never ceased, made no end of persecuting those who in their Creed dissented from them. Those Earthquakes seemed to be certain indications of tumult in the Church.* All which put together, could not but make me reflect upon the late Earth-

quakes, great by how much more unusual, here in *England*, thorow so many Counties since *Christmas*, at the same time when the Clergy, some of them, were so busy in their Cabals, to promote this (I would give it a modester name then) Persecution, which is now on foot against the Dissenters; at so unseasonable a time, and upon no occasion administred by them, that those who comprehend the reasons, yet cannot but wonder at the wisdome of it. Yet I am not neither one of the most credulous nickers or applyers of natural events to humain transactions: but neither am I so secure as the Learned Dr. *Spencer*, nor can walk along the world without having some eye to the conjunctures of God's admirable Providence. Neither was *Marcus Aurelius* (that I may return to my matter) negligent as to this particular. But he, observing as *Antoninus* had the Earthquakes, that in an expedition against the *Germans*, and *Sarmatians*: his Army being in despair almost for want of water, the *Melitine* (afterwards from theevent called the *Thundring*) Legion, which consisted of Christians, kneel'd down in the very heat of their thirst and fight, praying for rain, which posture the enemyes wondring at, immediately there brake out such a thundring and lightning as together with the Christian valour, routed the adverse Army, but so much rain fell therewith, as refreshed *Aurelius* his Forces that were at the last gasp for thirst, he thenceforward commanded by his Letters; *that upon pain of death none should inform against the Christians*, as *Tertullian* in his Apology for the Christians witnesses. But who would have believed that even *Commodus*, so great a Tyrant otherwise, should have been so favourable as to make a Law, *that the informers against Christians should be punished with Death*? Yet he did, and the Informer against *Apollonius* was by it executed. Much less could a man have thought that, that prodigy of cruelty *Maximine*, and who exercised it so severely upon the Christians, should, as he did, being struck with God's hand, publish when it was too late Edict after Edict, in great favour of the Christians. But above all, nothing could have been less expected then that, after those Heathen Emperours, the first Christian *Constantine* should have been seduced by the Bishops, to be, after them, the first occasion of Persecution, so contrary to his own excellent inclination: 'Twas then that he spake his own mind, when he said, *Eus.* de vitâ *Constt.* 69. *You ought to retain within the bounds of your private thoughts those things, which you cunningly and subtily seek out concerning most frivolous questions.* And then much plainer, c. 67. where he saith so wisely. *You are not ignorant that the Philosophers all of them do agree in the profession of the same Discipline, but do oftentimes differ in some part of the opinions which they dogmatize in: but yet, although they do dissent about the Discipline that each several Sect observeth, they nevertheless reconcile themselves again for the sake of that common Profession to which they have concurred.* But against compulsion in Religious matters so much every where, that it is needless to insert one passage. And he being of this disposition, and universally Famous for his care and countenance of the Christian Religion. *Eusebius* saith

these

these words: *While the people of God did glory [illegible] heighten it self in the doing of good things, and all fear from without was taken away, and the Church was fortifi'd as I may say, on all sides by a peaceable and illustrious tranquility, then Envy lying in wait against our prosperity, craftily crept in, and began first to dance in the midst of the company of Bishops:* so goes on, telling the History of *Alexander* and *Arrius*. I have been before large enough in that relation, wherein it appeared that contrary to that great Emperours pious intention, whereas *Envy began to dance among the Bishops first*, the good *Constantine* brought them to Fiddles. But it appear'd likewise how soon he was weary of the Ball, and toward his latter end, as Princes often do upon too late experience would have redressed all and returned to his natural temper. Of the other Christian Emperours I likewise discourse'd, omitting, that I might insert it in this place, how the great Heathen Philosopher *Themistius*, in his Consular Oration, celebrated *Jovianus* for having given that toleration in Christian Religion, and thereby defeated the *flattering* Bishops, which sort of men, saith he wittily, *do not worship God, but the Imperial Purple.*

It was the same *Themistius* that, only out of an upright natural apprehension of things, made that excellent Oration afterward to *Valens*, which is in Print, exhorting him to cease Persecution: wherein he chances upon, and improves the same notion with *Constantine's*, and tells him: *That he should not wonder at the Dissents in Christian Religion, which were very small, if compared with the multitude and crowd of Opinions among the Gentile Philosophers; for there were at least three hundred differences, and a very great dissention among them there was about their resolutions, unto which each several Sect was as it were necessarily bound up and obliged: and that God seemed to intend more to illustrate his own glory by that diverse and unequal variety of Opinions, to the end every each one might therefore so much the more reverence his Divine Majesty, because it is not possible for any one accurately to know him.* And this had a good effect upon *Valens*, for the mitigating in some measure his severities against his fellow Christians. So that after having cast about, in this Summary again, (whereby it plainly appears that according to natural right and the apprehension of all sober Heathen Governours, Christianity as a Religion, was wholly exempt from the Magistrates jurisdiction or Lawes, farther than any particular person among them immorally transgressed, as others, the common rules of humain society) I cannot but return to the Question with which I begun. What was the matter? How came it about that Christianity, which approved it self under all Persecutions to the Heathen Emperours, and merited their favour so far, till at last it regularly succeeded to the Monarchy, should, under those of their own profession, be more distressed? But the Answer is now much shorter and certainer, and I will adventure boldly to say, the true and single cause then was the Bishops. And they were the cause against reason. For what power had the Emperours by growing Christians, more then those had before them? None. What obligation were Christ an

subjects under to the Magistrate more then before? None. But the Magistrates Christian authority was, what the Apostle describ'd it while Heathen, *not to be a terror to good works, but to evil.* What new Power had the Bishops acquired, whereby they turned every Presbyter into a *Caiaphat?* None neither? 2 *Cor.* 10. 8. Had they been Apostles, *The Lord had but given them Authority for edification, not for destruction.* They, of all other, ought to have Preached to the Magistrate, the terrible denunciations in Scripture against usurping upon and persecuting of Christians. They, of all others, ought to have laid before them the horrible Examples of God's ordinary Justice against those that exercised Persecution. But, provided they could be the Swearers of the Prince to do all due Allegiance to the Church, and to preserve the Rights and liberties of the Church, however they came by them, they would give him as much scope as he pleased in matter of Christianity, and would be the first to solicite him to break the Laws of *Christ*, and ply him with hot places of Scripture in order to all manner of Oppression and Persecution in Civils and Spirituals. So that the whole business how this unchristian Tyranny came and could entitle it self among Christians, against the Christian priviledges, was only the case in *Zech.* 13. 6. 7 *And one shall say unto him, what are these wounds in thy hands? then he shall answer, those with which I was wounded in the house of my friends.* Because they were all Christians, they thought forsooth they might make the bolder with them, make bolder with *Christ*, and wound him again in the hands and feet, of his members. Because they were friends they might use them more courtly, and abuse them, against all common civility, in their own house, which is a Protection to Strangers. And all this to the end that a Bishop might sit with the Prince in a *Junto*, to consult wisely how to preserve him from those people that never meant him any harm, and to secure him from the Sedition and Rebellion of men that seek, nor think, any thing more but to follow their own Religious, Christian Worship. It was indeed as ridiculous a thing to the Pagans to see that work, as it was afterwards in *England* to strangers, where Papists and Protestants went both to wrack at the same instant, in the same market, and when *Erasmus* said wittily, *Quid agitur in Angliâ? Consulitur* he might have added though not so elegantly *Conburitur) de Religione.* Because they knew that Christian Worship was free by Christ's institution, they procured the Magistrate to make Laws in it concerning things unnecessary; As the Heathen Persecutor *Julian* introduced some bordering Pagan Ceremonyes, and arguing with themselves in the same manner as he did, *Soz. l. 5. c. 16.* That *if Christians should obey those Lawes they should be able to bring them about to something further which they had designed. But if they would not, then they might proceed against them without any hope of pardon, as breakers of the Laws of the Empire, and represent them as turbulent and dangerous to the Government.* Indeed, whatsoever the Animadverter saith of the Act of Seditious Conventicles here in *England*, as if it were Anvill'd after another of the *Romane* Senate, the Christians of those Ages,

had.

had all the fineſt tooles of Perſecution out of *Julian's* Shop, and ſtudied him then as curiouſly as ſome do now *Machiavel*. Theſe Biſhops it was who, becauſe the Rule of *Chriſt* was incompatible with the Power that they aſſumed, and the Vices they practiſed, had no way to render themſelves neceſſary or tolerable to Princes, but by making true piety difficult, by Innovating Laws to revenge themſelves upon it, and by turning Makebates between Prince and People, inſtilling doctrines of which themſelves were the Authors. Hence it is that having awakened this jealouſy once in the Magiſtrate againſt Religion, they made both the Secular and the Eccleſiaſtical Government ſo uneaſy to him, that moſt Princes began to look upon their Subjects as their Enemies, and to imagine a reaſon of State different from the Intereſt of their People: and therefore to weaken themſelves by ſeeking unneceſſary & grievous ſupports to their authority. Whereas if men could have refrain'd this cunning, and from thence forcible, governing of Chriſtianity, leaving it to its own ſimplicity, and due Liberty, but cauſing them in all other things to keep the King's and *Chriſt's* peace among themſelves and towards others, all the ill that could have come of it would have been that ſuch kind of Biſhops ſhould have prov'd leſs implemental, but the good that muſt have thence riſen to the Chriſtian Magiſtrate and the Church, then and ever after, would have been inexpreſſible.

But this diſcourſe having run in a manner wholly upon the Impoſition of Creeds, may ſeem not to concern (and I deſire that it may not reflect upon) our Clergy, nor the Controverſies which have ſo unhappyly vex'd our Church, ever ſince the reign of *Edward* the Sixth unto this day. Only, if there might ſomthing be pick'd out of it towards the Compromiſing of thoſe differences (which I have not from any performance of mine the vanity to imagine) it may have uſe as an Argument *a Majori ad Minus*, their diſputes having riſen only from that of Creeds, ours from the Impoſition only of Ceremonies, which are of much inferior conſideration. Faith being neceſſary, but Ceremonies Deſpenſable. Unleſs our Church ſhould lay the ſame weight upon them as the Animadverter has done thorow his whole Studious Chapter on that Subject, and becauſe p. 34. *this is the time of her ſettlement, that there is a Church at the end of every Mile, that the Sovereign Powers ſpread their wings to cover and protect her, that Kings and Queens are her Nurſing Fathers and Nurſing Mothers, that ſhe hath ſtately Cathedrals*, there be ſo many arguments now to make Ceremonies Neceſſary: which may all be anſwered with one Queſtion that they uſe to ask Children. *Where are you proud?* But I ſhould rather hope from the wiſdom and Chriſtianity of the preſent guides of our Church, that they will (after an age and more, after ſo long a time almoſt as thoſe Primitive Biſhops I have ſpoke of, yet ſuffered the *Novatian* Biſhops in every Dioceſs) have mercy on the Nation, that hath been upon ſo ſlender a matter as the Ceremonies and Liturgy ſo long, ſo miſerably haraſs'd. That they will have mercy upon the King, whom they know againſt his natural inclination, His Royal Intention, his many Declarations, they have induced to more Severities, then all the Reigns ſince the Conqueſt will

contain if summ'd up together: who may, as *Constantine* among his Private Devotions put up one Collect to the Bishops. *Euseb.* de vitâ *Const.* c. 70. *Date igitur mihi Dies tranquillos & Noctes curarum expertes.* And it runs thus almost altogether *verbatim* in that Historian. *Grant, most merciful Bishop and Priest that I may have calm days, and nights free from care and molestation, that I may live a peaceable life in all Cleanness and honesty for the future by your good agreement; which unless you vouchsafe me, I shall wast away my Reign in perpetual sadness and vexation. For as long as the people of God stands divided by so unjust and pernicious a Contention, how can it be that I can have any ease in my own Spirit. Open therefore by your good agreement the way to me, that I may continue my Expedition towards the East; and grant that I may see both you and all the rest of my people, having laid aside your animosities, rejoycing together, that we may all with one voice give laud and glory, for the Common good agreement and liberty, to God Almighty for ever.* Amen. But if neither the People, nor his Majesty enter into their consideration. I hope it is no unreasonable request that they will be merciful unto themselves, and have some reverence at least for *the Naked Truth* of History, which either in their own times will meet with them, or in the next age overtake them: That they, who are some of them so old that, as Confessors, they were the Scarrs of the former troubles, others of them so young, that they are free from all the Motives of Revenge and Hatred, should yet joyn in reviving the former persecutions upon the pretences, yea even themselves in a turbulent, military, and uncanonical manner execute Laws of their own procuring, and depute their inferior Clergy to be the Informers. I should rather hope to see not only that Controversy so scandalous abolished, but that also upon so good an occasion as the Author of *the Naked Truth* hath administred them, they will inspect their Clergy, and cause many things to be corrected, which are far more ruinous in the Consequence then the dispensing with a Surplice. I shall mention some too confusedly, as they occur to my Pen, at present, reserving much more for better leasure. Methinks it might be of great edification, that those of them who have ample possessions should be in a good sense. *Multas inter opes inopes.* That they would inspect the Canons of the ancient Councils, where are many excellent ones for the regulation of the Clergy. I saw one, looking but among those of the same Council of *Nice*, against any Bishops removing from a less Bishoprick to a greater, nor that any of the Inferior Clergy should leave a less living for a fatter. That is methinks the most Natural use of General or any Councils to make Canons, as it were By-Laws for the ordering of their own Society, but they ought not to take out, much less forge any Patent to invade and prejudice the Community. It were good that the greater Churchmen relyed more upon themselves, and their own direction, not building too much upon stripling Chaplains: that men may not suppose the Master (as one that has a good Horse or a Fleet-hound) attributes to himself the vertues of his Creature. That they inspect the Morals of the Clergy: the Moral Hereticks, do the Church more harm

then

then all the Non-conformists can do, or can with it. That before they admit men to subscribe the Thirty nine Articles for a Benefice, they try whether they know the meaning. That they would much recommend to them the reading of the Bible. Tis a very good book, and if a man read it carefully, will make him much wiser. That they would advise them to keep the Sabbath: if there were no morality in the day, yet there is a great deal of prudence in the observing it. That they would instruct those that came for Holy Orders and Livings, that it is a terrible vocation they enter upon, but that has indeed the greatest reward. That to gain a Soul is beyond all the acquists of Traffick, and to convert an Atheist more glorious then all the Conquests of the Souldier. That, betaking themselves to this Spiritual Warfare, they ought to disintangle from the World. That they do not ride for a Benefice as if it were for a Fortune or a Mistress, but there is more in it. That they take the Ministry up not as a Trade, and, because they have heard of *Whittington*, in expectation that the Bells may so chime that they come in their turns to be Lord Mayors of *Lambeth*. That they make them understand, as well as they can, what is the Grace of God. That they do not come into the Pulpit too full of Fustian or Logick, a good life is a Clergy man's best Syllogism, and the quaintest Oratory: and till they out-live 'm they will never get the better of the Fanaticks, nor be able to preach with Demonstration of Spirit or with any effect or Authority. That they be Lowly minded, and no Railers.

And particularly, that the Archdeacon of *Canterbury* being in ill humor upon account of his *Ecclesiastical Policy*, may not continue to revenge himself upon the innocent *Walloons* there, by ruining their Church which subsists upon the Ecclesiastical Power of His Majesty and so many of His Royal Predecessors.

But these things require greater Time, and to enumerate all that is amiss, might perhaps be as endless as to number the People: nor are they within the ordinary sphære of my Capacity, and our Exposer will think I have forgot him, I shall take my leave of him for the present, being only troubled to find out a Complement for so civil a Person. It must be thus.

I will not say as *Popilius* said to *Antiochus*, nor as *Demosthenes* said to *Æschines*, nor as the most Learned *P. Ærodius*, or the Jesuite *Gaspar Schottus* said to the Animadverter, nor as *Dolubella* said to *Cicero*, nor as the Christian *Cicero* said to the *English* Parliament, nor as the *Roman* Centurion said to the *Roman* Enlign: but I will say something like what *Leontius* (that presided from *Constantius* at the Council at *Seleucia*, when they made an endless Disputing to no purpose) said to them: nor, *Abite igitur & in Ecclesiâ nugas agite*, but, good Mr. Exposer, what do you Loytering like an idle Schollar, and Animadverting here in Town? get you home again, or it were better for you, and Expose and Animadvert, as long as you will, at your own Colledg.

But as to a new Book fresh come out, Intitled, *the Author of the Naked*

Truth

ble of the *Great Gunn*, on the Title Page, will not excuse Bishop *Gunning*. For his Sermon is still expected.

But to the Judicious and Serious Reader, to whom I wish any thing I have said, may have given no unwelcom entertainment, I shall only so far justify my self, that I thought it no less concerned me to vindicate the Laity from the Impositions that the *Few* would force upon them, then him to defend those Impositions on behalf of the Clergy. And moreover I judged my self most proper for the work, it not being fit that so slight a Pamphlet as his should be answered by any Man of great abilities. For the rest I take *the Naked Truth* to have been part of that effect which Reverend Mr. *Hooker* foretold *Præf. to Eccl. Policy*, p. 10. The *time will come when Three words, uttered with Charity and Meekness, shall receive a far more blessed reward, then Three thousand Volumes written with disdainful sharpness of Wit.* And I shall conclude with him in his close. *I trust in the Almighty that with us Contentions are now at the highest float, and that the day will come (for what cause is there of Dispair)* when *the Passions of former enmity being allaid, men shall with ten times redoubled tokens of unfainedly reconciled Love, shew themselves each to other the same which* Joseph *and the Brethren of* Joseph *were at the time of their Enterview in* Egypt. And upon this condition, *let my Book also (yea my self if it were needful) be burnt by the hand of the*, Animadverter.

FINIS.